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licks them up with the tip of her tongue and eats them. Men never indulge in this quest.

Long hair in the back is considered beautiful in both sexes. Negro hair is regarded as repulsive; on the other hand, these Indians esteem the fine-textured, smooth hair of pure whites as at least equal in beauty to their own and take delight in stroking it.

Even tribes, like the Gurupy Timbira, who have long since abandoned the ancient mode of hairdressing, still remove eyebrows and lashes. Long eyebrows "like a dog's" are abhorrent to the Canella; they are torn out with the tips of the fingers, which have first been dipped into ashes. In order to avoid unremitting criticism I felt compelled to shave my eyebrows from time to time. An ordinary two-fiber tucum thread serves to remove the eyelashes. A man will hold his hands at a distance of a few centimeters on the thread, twist it so that the fibers separate, then enclose the tips of the lashes with them, tightly twist the thread together again, and jerk off the lashes. Another device is to use the long seeds of the steppe grass, which are provided with a sharp, though barely visible barb. No man ever removes another's eyebrows or lashes; he either does it himself with the aid of a mirror or has some woman do it for him.

Axillary or pubic hair, which appears late and almost always remains scanty, is generally allowed to grow unhindered. However, young girls and, more particularly, village wantons often pluck out the first pubic hair, this being reckoned elegant. Kukẽnkwę'i, one of the wantons never absent from any festivity of the wakõkama age class, had her pubic hair gently, though forcibly, removed by her friends and age mates at the command of the class leader, Ropkạ' junior, as they triumphantly reported to me afterward.

According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra of old removed all body hair.[200]

The beard is not plucked out except by young unmarried men provided it should appear at that age, which is a very rare occurrence. Otherwise it is allowed to grow; but whiskers, which hardly ever sprout, are considered ugly.

Perforation of ear lobes.—Perforated ear lobes (hapakkre) and the hair furrow constitute the most important national badges of the Timbira, the Eastern tribe limiting the perforating of ear lobes to boys. Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I have often witnessed this operation, which is obligatory before the final initiation phase, but not otherwise fixed in time. Usually it falls into the first phase of the second half of the initiation cycle, that is, when the boys are from ten to fifteen years old and still sexually pure. Snethlage's estimate of six to seven years[201] is thus too low.

The operators, of whom Ponto has three, function simply as experts in this procedure, playing no other part by virtue of their practice. Every boy is operated on separately in his maternal home without any previous preparation. He is made to sit on a mat where there is proper illumination, with either parent behind him and resting both of his or her hands on the lad's shoulders. The perforator, provided with a wooden pin (fig. 3), a gourd bowl holding urucú pigment (pl. 20, *a*), and a pair of bamboo rods the thickness of a match, squats before the subject. He cuts off the hair about the boy's temples, kneads the lobe between his finger tips, dips the tip of his pin into the urucú, and thus marks the spot to be punctured, all this being done with deliberate meticulousness. The perforator leans back to make sure that the spot is in the right place. Taking one of the red bamboo plugs between his lips, he once more seizes the pin and slowly twists it, making an orifice the diameter of a lead pencil, whereupon he immediately inserts the plug. I have

[200] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.

[201] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 150.

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304 881 never seen the victim move a muscle. After going through the same process on the other ear and after smearing urucú over the wounds, the man forthwith puts a cloth over the boy's head and knots it together below his chin. There is no solemnity about the event; half a dozen boys and girls of the type that want to see everything will look on with interest, otherwise no one pays the least attention. But the operator and the patient both must keep a diet and abstain from any hard labor until the wounds are healed. If time is pressing, it happens that half a dozen boys have their ears pierced on one day or within a few days. In that case they jointly take their meals in front of the village, observing their diet. My query as to the material used before cloth came into vogue remained unanswered.

Over a week after the operation, when the wounds are healed, the boy's maternal uncle goes hunting and kills a deer, smokes its flesh outside the village, wraps it in leaves, and places it in a basket. Unannounced he suddenly dashes toward the plaza with his load, drops it there, and departs. At once all the women except those of the boy's household rush out with knives, each trying to snatch away a slice of the game, though because of their great number only a few succeed. There is a regular scrimmage, so that on one occasion a competitor got a slashed hand instead

Fig. 3. Lobe perforator: wooden pin. Slightly less than ½ nat. size.

of a share in the meat. In another instance the women caught sight of the hunter at a distance, pounced upon him, and snatched away the game long before he could get to the plaza; on this occasion a woman had her nose gashed.

Gradually the orifice is widened by the insertion of successively thicker rods of bamboo and later of wood. As soon as the diameter attains about 4 cm., the further widening is produced by inserting the two index fingers and turning them around each other. It is, above all, the youths secluded during the last phase of initiation who strive for a maximum diameter, but there is great variability from tribe to tribe and from individual to individual. The Western Gaviões perforate their ears, but do not seem to wear strikingly large plugs; and according to Pohl the Põrekamekra specimens were only half an inch in diameter.[288] Those of the Kre'pṵ'mkateye do not exceed 3.5 cm.; on the other hand, the largest plugs, with a diameter up to 10 cm., occur among the Krahõ' and the Rąmkõ'kamekra and in former times they are said to have been still larger. All of the older Rąmkõ'kamekra recalled a tribesman with plugs of such dimensions that they would clash together in the back of his neck as he ran. My pictures at the last initiation illustrate the variability in size (pl. 4, *a–c*).

304 171

304 832 When the plugs are of the largest size, the lobe of the ears forms a strip barely 5 mm. in width that encircles the outer margin as an endless band does its wheel. Such disks (kũi) are the youth's pride and the women's delight. In describing the handsome young man of a tale the narrator will stress the size of his plugs: there is a story about one hero whose disks were so large that he would take them out to sit on them as a stool. Spirally coiled palm leaflets, such as Pohl reports from the Põrekamekra,[289] supersede plugs only in the case of medium-sized holes.

304 When the ear has attained the desired extension, the disk is generally worn only for festive adornment, the lobe normally forming a flapping loop, which is accordingly as a rule slung over the upper edge of the helix. Occasionally some accident

[288] Pohl, Reise, 2:191. [289] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.

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there are wooden forks with from two to five tines for drawing parallel lines. Further, there are four distinct types of stamps: (1) For dots. For dotted lines the forks or similar implements are used; dots forming stars, rectangles, etc., are stamped with the ends of appropriately carved rods. (2) Round stamps, mainly for star-shaped designs, generally consist of halved palm (especially babassu) nuts and are most commonly used. An ingenious woman utilized her husband's ear disks, which had a Maltese cross in openwork. (3) Stamps for stripes. These usually consist of a plano-convex piece of burity leafstalk, the level surface being carved with the designs, while the convex side has two excised parts opposite each other which aid the fingers in manipulating the implement. Other stamps of this category are of hardwood and of rectangular section, with a different pattern on each side. Sometimes a grip projects in the direction of the axis on each narrow face of such four-plane stamps. (4) Roller stamps, of cylindrical form with spindle. They may quite possibly be aboriginal, for the racing logs called pę'rakahą'k exhibit the same form.

Notwithstanding the extensive development of body paint, the ornamentation marks social units only in a few cases. Thus, each of the plaza groups paints those of its members graduating from the second phase of initiation with a special pattern at the terminal celebration; and the rainy season moieties are recognizable by their paint. On the other hand, the exogamous moieties, the age classes, and the festive organizations lack distinctive paint, except for the leader and the girl associates of the Jaguar society.

Gluing of down and paty wool.—Falcon down is glued on the body exclusively for ceremonial decoration (pl. 7, *c*), being obligatory at a number of solemn procedures, whereas no one ever has himself decorated with feathers for his personal pleasure. At the close of the ketúaye and the pepkahą'k seclusion all participants are ornamented with falcon down. At other terminal solemnities and outstanding ceremonies it is as a rule the officiating members of the hąmrén who are thus distinguished. Above all, the tamhą'k at their great ceremony during the pepkahą'k festival all appear with the falcon-down decoration reserved for their use. Further, at the end of the mourning period for a deceased or absent tribesman, or after prolonged and serious illness, the hąmrén present themselves in their down ornamentation before the councilors in the plaza; the corpse of the hąmrén is similarly honored. Whenever the hąmrén are thus decorated, each cheek bears two small black triangles in close juxtaposition, the pigment being derived from almecega rosin and pulverized charcoal.

The ketúaye initiation and the pepkahą'k festival require the simultaneous decoration of some thirty persons with falcon down, hence special hunting trips have to be arranged in order to obtain the necessary quantity. The Indians then set the steppe afire, the smoke enticing the falcons, whose down is subsequently stowed away in small, narrow-mouthed gourd vessels, from which it is extricated with a little rod.

I know of but a single instance of parrot down as a substitute for that of a falcon. Oddly enough, this happened in the case of a little boy impersonating a young falcon.

The down is glued on by a hąpín (p. 102), invariably in the wearer's maternal house, to the chanting of the operator, who receives a present for his labor. The solitary exception occurs at ketúaye, the novices being decorated by members of their plaza unit (menkąčą). Before the operation the subject's hair is always trimmed.

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Juçára (*Euterpe* sp.)	Piquy (*Caryocar* sp.)
Bacaba (*Oenocarpus* sp.)	Mocajuba (*Acrocomia* sp.)
Sapucaia (*Lecythis* sp.)	Mangaba (*Hancornia* sp.)
Curiti (?)	Cajú (*Anacardium* sp.)
Guabiroba	Araçá (*Psidium* sp.)
Bacury (*Platonia* sp.)	Côco = babassu (*Orbignia* sp.)
Puçá	

Strangely enough, he omits the palm that is one of the most, if not the most, important of species for the Timbira, namely, the burity (*Mauritia flexuosa*).

Snethlage thus supplements the list:[288]

Piassava (*Attalea* sp.)	Paty (*Astrocaryum* sp.)
Catulé (*Cocos comosa*)	Muricy (*Brytonima* sp.)
(Various *Astrocaryas*)	

Of all the species named only four are really important in supplying a sufficiency of food during part of the year, viz., the four palms of the *galeria* woods—juçára, bacaba, babassu, and burity.

From the fleshy layer of the seeds of the juçára, bacaba, and burity fruits the Indians prepare more or less viscid beverages, which are very nutritious by reason of their fatty content. They are strained through little round strainers, plaited from uarumã strips, whose ends are twisted together into a peripheral pad (pl. 20, *c*). The babassu yields for food not only its strongly oleaginous seeds, but also the indwelling larvae of *Bruchus nucleorum*,[289] which we have noted as used for hair pomade. The seeds are pounded in a mortar, and the pulp is rinsed with water, whence there evolves a fatty, white juice, which is poured through the above-mentioned strainer.

Anciently tribes waged war over stands of babassu, as in the fighting between the Krahõ′ and the Põrekamekra noted by Pohl.[290] It was obviously this palm whose ownership was at stake; for it is especially common on the left bank of the Tocantins.

Ribeiro mentions the mocajuba trunk as a source of food and drink, a use I have never myself noted. On the other hand, the palmitos, leaf shoots, of the juçara and especially of the anajá (*Maximiliana regia*) are occasionally consumed even today.

In times of dearth the Ramkõ′kamekra prepare a kind of flour from the root of the patioba (*Caladium* sp.; Timbira: mriti), which grows in the water of creeks and swamps.

As an article of diet, wild honey is equally insignificant. Snethlage describes the procedure of hacking it out of the trees and pouring it into gourd bottles. I have never seen beehives in Timbira villages.

Except for honey, the gathering of wild food is principally a feminine task; even nowadays women and girls are rather addicted to it. Marching through the steppe, they glance all around, almost instinctively scouring the country, and collect whatever comes near them into a gourd bowl, which they generally take along on such trips. Sometimes a large bevy of girls, especially young ones, jointly roam over the steppe for days in quest of fruits. In order not to miss their customary dances every night, they take a precentor with them, but otherwise decline a male escort and would manhandle any lad who should thrust his company upon them. During one of these marches, in 1933, I observed the following remarkable terminal performance.

During the last period of seclusion of the initiation festival held at the time a dozen girls with the precentor Kaukré and his wife marched about forty kilometers

[288] Nordostbras. Ind., 160.
[289] Cf. Próes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 54.
[290] Pohl, 2:137.

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to the east into the steppe, as far as the vicinity of the small Neobrazilian settlement Leandro. There they collected above all babassu nuts and genipa fruits, quantities of which were required for the coming terminal ceremony of the festival. When they failed to return after the lapse of a week, the council decided to send a messenger after them; and when this step proved futile, a second messenger was dispatched, who returned on July 3, reporting that the girls were already on the march. On the evening of July 4 they appeared on an eminence one kilometer east of Ponto, but instead of entering the village they camped beyond it in the steppe. In a somewhat mysterious fashion the precentor Pĵtó and I were invited to join them. Accordingly, we and a few girls who had not taken part in the excursion set out together after nightfall.

We found a heap of firewood, which was presently kindled. The girls now began to decorate themselves like men with tasseled forehead bands fringed with bast threads, bandoliers put on cross-fashion, wristlets and girdles with grass tails. All these ornaments were of burity bast and form decoration otherwise worn exclusively by men. The girls painted themselves with black rubber pigment, urucú, and white clay, and also decorated me in the same way. Then, led by Kaukré, they began to dance vehemently round the fire, the step being quite different from their usual style and strongly reminding me of the čo'čóre dance of the Apinayé.[88] After only about one hour they had sung and danced themselves into a remarkably aggressive mood: the oldest of them suddenly danced out of the circle, turning toward the fire in the center; her face had assumed a strikingly malevolent expression. She snatched a burning log from the fire and, brandishing it menacingly, jumped at Kaukré, but another woman seized her arms and disarmed her. A short time thereafter another participant attempted a similar attack against myself; and subsequently a third assistant once more advanced toward Kaukré with a bush-knife. However, in each case the would-be attackers were immediately seized and disarmed. After each attack the girls in a body uttered their quavering war cry by rapidly striking their lips with the palms of their hands.

Kaukré departed, and Pĵtó, who had come there with me, assumed the supervision. The dance was constantly growing madder. Constantly and rhythmically the dancers' circle contracted till it approached the fire and then again expanded. During this maneuver they kicked clouds of sand into the flames, nearly putting them out. Kaukré leaped into the fray again, bringing his gun. First he danced beside the fire, which started up once more, then outside and round the women's circle, discharging a shot. At a distance the plaza fires were seen blazing and dance songs were audible: there it was the me'pantúa (lit. the young arms, that is, the two younger of the four age classes) who were dancing. Throughout the moonlit night the dances continued in both quarters with only minor interruptions till daybreak.

Meanwhile in the village a boy about ten years old had been covered with falcon down. He advanced, took up a position some two hundred meters from the girls' camp in the direction of the village and uttered a piercing yell. Thereupon the girls began at first to imitate exactly the dance of Timbira warriors when challenging an enemy they are facing. That is, they advanced several steps with arms raised, turned about vehemently stamping their feet, and went back. Then, led by Kaukré, they dashed toward the boy, whom they surrounded, angrily screaming at him. Thereupon the lad walked two hundred meters farther toward the village, halted, and once more yelled. The preceding scene was now repeated until the girls' company finally appeared among the houses of the village periphery.

[88] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 26.

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881 No sooner had the two age classes in the plaza caught sight of them than they ran shouting toward them, hurling burity staves 1 m. long at them; then they retreated to the plaza again. The girls divided their numbers along three of the radial paths and in their turn took the offensive with a volley of babassu and other nuts. They pounced upon the men, grappled with them, and tried to throw them. There ensued general wrestling bouts, lasting for only a few seconds and closing with the men's victory. Only one girl, Kentapí, bowled over her adversary. Now the two factions separated and formed two lines facing each other. Several men offered the girls the fruits they had employed in pelting. In this position they sang for a while, then suddenly united, and turned westward, yelling defiance in chorus at their western neighbors, the Apą'nyekra. Thus ended this ceremony, whose name I was unable to ascertain. It was simply designated as amnyíkapẽ're (amnyi = reciprocal; kapẽ're, throwing).

Domestic Animals

231 174 I strongly suspect the Timbira of having originally lacked dogs—in other words, any domestic animals. Nowadays every Ponto household has at least two dogs. The breed is mostly characterized by medium size and short hair, a pointed snout, and large erect ears with projecting tips. They are not badly treated, generally receiving some food after the owners' meal. Special attention is devoted to pregnant and suckling bitches; when they are about to give birth, their owners sometimes rig up old mats into a regular confinement cell for them in a corner of the house. Good hunting dogs are rare; nor are their animals particularly violent or given to biting even though they dutifully yelp at every stranger. Since they are hardly ever beaten, they are insolent and forward toward their masters. I have often admired the patience of many an Indian, who while at his meal would again and again push away his importunate dogs with a cautious movement of his hand as though he were dealing with a child. When hard put to it, a native will threaten the dog with a stick, which, however, almost always is deliberately made to strike the ground beside the beast. As stated, some dogs sleep on the platform beds with their masters. When a dog dies, it is buried like a human being, in a pit the mouth of which is covered, and earth is heaped on top.

[235] At present all steppe Timbira breed pigs and fowls, even though only in small numbers—especially our Canella, whose village harbored some forty pigs (1933) and twelve horses, to boot. They like very much to handle horses and rapidly learn to become good riders. The Krĩkatí were the only one of these tribes that formerly owned a few head of cattle. Very few Timbira keep poultry, and in Ponto there were only two cats. Even today a fair number of Ponto Indians have no animals except dogs. However, Fróes Abreu goes somewhat too far in mentioning as their only true domestic beasts "several sucking pigs."[35] Most of the animals, even some of the horses, belong to the women.

231 [552] Among the merely tamed pets from the forest and steppes the peccaries (usually *Dicotyles labiatus*) play the major role. They are caught young and grow very tame, but must generally be kept in cages to guard against constant brawls with the dogs. The peccaries receive the names of human beings. At the terminal solemnity of certain major festivals (e.g., the two phases of initiation and pepkahą'k) a peccary must be ceremonially killed, made into meat pies, and paid for. The inmates of the house loudly bewail its death, while no particular fuss accompanies the slaughtering of a domestic pig.

[35] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 178.

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups
224 exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ́'makra log making,
834 the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast
837 killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ́'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ́'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 After the last atụ́'k race, which closes the meipimrạ́'k season, the women of each
527 group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ́'k
616 period, the mepatạ̃mčwẹ́'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place.
527 The atụ́'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the
604 village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ́'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ́'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ́'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ́'k season.

616 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõčwá
575 society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second
616 initiation phase, that is, during the vụ'tẹ́' season. Five weeks after the beginning
881 of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ́'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ́'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ́'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ́'makra." On the day that
[302] terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own
561 and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ́' and atụ́'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than
174 that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in
171 the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ́'makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ́'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ'tẹ́' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ́'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponte with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

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as slow-moving, perseverant, and characterized by decorative painted lines; Kanyurú as nimble, inconstant, and painted with dots. All of nature was classified according to these criteria—the changing, spotted moon is Kanyurú; the sun, Kamé, etc.

Plaza Groups and Moieties

A peculiar organization, unintelligible to me in its present form, is that of the double trio of menkąčą′ groups. The term may be rendered "where or how the people stand in the plaza"; me(n) is a personal prefix, ką designates the plaza, and the suffix čą defines the place, manner, or instrument of a thing or action.

The division applies only to males, each of the six groups embracing all the bearers of a definite series of masculine names, which a boy gets by transfer from

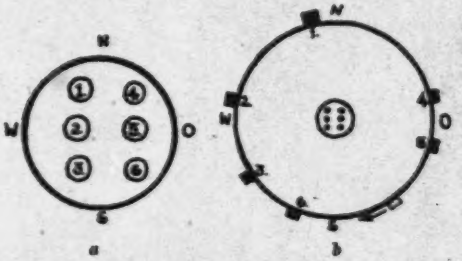

Fig. 7. a. Position of plaza groups: 1, Armadillo; 2, Dwarf Parrot; 3, Alien Tribe; 4, Giant Snake; 5, Bat; 6, Carrion Vulture. b. Position of plaza group assembly houses.

a maternal uncle. The grouping into eastern (kǫ′irumenkąčą, from kǫ̃′irum, in the east) and western (harą′rumenkąčą, from harą′rum, in the west) plaza halves has nothing to do with the exogamous moiety scheme, hence blood brothers and parallel cousins may belong to distinct plaza groups.

The scheme is as follows:

kǫ′irumenkąčą (eastern)	harą′rumenkąčą (western)
1. hąka, Giant Snake	aučêt, Armadillo
2. čepre, Bat	kédre, Dwarf Parrot
3. čõdn, Carrion Vulture	kupê, Alien Tribe

Each group has both a fixed station in the plaza and a house of assembly whose position at the periphery roughly corresponds to that site in the plaza (fig. 7). However, during the pepyé festival of 1932 the meeting place of the eastern čõdn had been transposed to the western half of the circumference. The reason given for this exception was that the leader (mamkyẽ′ti) of the pepyé, who belonged to the čõdn, was to be painted in his maternal home according to the general usage applying to these officers, and that house was situated on the west side. For his sake, accordingly, the meeting place of the group itself was shifted to that side.

The purely ceremonial main functions of these groups are exercised at the initiation festivals. They set in with the very beginning of the first phase—the capture of the prospective initiates. Two specially appointed "catchers" bring the boys out of their maternal homes, alternately leading a lad from the eastern and the western plaza moieties to the plaza, where they are opposed to each other in two parallel lines. The eastern members are led to a house on the east side for their seclusion,

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and vice versa. Throughout this phase of initiation the boys always appear simultaneously, but separated into these antithetical moieties. All offices during the ceremony are dual, one incumbent representing the eastern, the other the western plaza group.

On the morning of the third day of the closing ceremony of this festival the six groups take up their positions in the plaza, and the novices are decorated with falcon down, each by the maternal uncle from whom he has obtained the names determining his plaza membership. In this ornamentation fellow members of a group aid one another and are subsequently compensated by the kinswomen of the lad they have decorated, receiving a meat pie, which is equitably divided among the group members.

The departure of the plaza groups follows a definite rule: the southernmost group of each moiety moves to join the center group, both together unite with the northern one, whereupon all three simultaneously return to the site of the center group. Thus, there are finally only two companies in the plaza, the plaza moieties, which form the teams for the immediately ensuing symbolical log race with the miniature logs of the souls of the dead (pąrare) (pl. 35, *d*).

Somewhat more varied are the functions of these units in the second phase of initiation, the pepyé festival.

Four days after the seclusion of the pepyé had begun in 1932 the čõdn group, to which the western class leader belonged, manufactured a pair of special logs, pą'rakahák. Smaller and of lighter weight than the ordinary logs, they were further distinguished by grips projecting from the center of the terminal planes in the direction of the axis. The race track was only about one kilometer in length. The opposing teams were the eastern and western plaza moieties.

Two days later the plaza groups again appeared in the plaza, then they proceeded to erect the cells for the seclusion of each novice in his maternal home. The main part of the work always devolved on the individual novice's maternal uncle, but the entire group helped.

After a three months' seclusion the pepyé were subjected to an inspection. The plaza group members, so far as they were not in seclusion, took up their positions in the plaza, then suddenly dashed simultaneously with loud yells, each group to the home of a secluded member. Penetrating the enclosure of the yard, they took up positions before the rear entrance of the cell. The novice's maternal uncle stepped forward and three times uttered piercing screams, whereupon the boy called came crawling out of the little door. But hardly had he become visible than his uncle again shouted at him, thereby chasing him back indoors. Each group in turn similarly treated its secluded members, whereupon all six companies returned to the plaza, making their exit at a given signal. The seclusion was lifted two days later.

The next morning the pepyé clandestinely arranged a log race among themselves with the pąrare logs of the spirits, members of the eastern and the western plaza moiety being pitted against each other.

Four days later the novices' kinswomen paid the plaza groups for erecting the cells. In front of each house of seclusion they deposited as many carrying baskets as there had been novices within the particular home. The baskets were ostentatiously topped with fruits to a height up to three times that of the containers and were tied to stages of poles to prevent their toppling over. This fee is known as põ.

The baskets remained standing all night. On the following morning the eastern and the western age classes ran a symbolical race with the pąrare, and immediately

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thereupon the several plaza groups carried off their respective fees to the plaza, where the contents were poured out, assorted, and distributed among the members. On the same morning the pepyé had their hair cut and received the paint peculiar to their plaza groups. The novices took up positions in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups, standing on the west side of the village circumference, to the right and left of the former house of seclusion of the eastern class leader. Those not in seclusion appeared on the plaza in the proper order of the groups, ran up to the pepyé affiliated with them, and led them off to the appropriate meeting house. There they were painted by their hąpín with their respective plaza group designs in genipa and red urucú.

This decorative paint, hõkrąkróro, consists of a stripe the width of the hand and composed of certain repetitive ornaments on both sides of the front of the body. The stripes begin on the cheeks at the level of the nose and descend across the neck, breasts, and inguinal region down to approximately the middle of the thigh. At the clavicle a narrower stripe of the same decoration branches off, extending on the anterior surface of the arms down to the middle of the forearm. Each plaza group has its peculiar pattern, but the Giant Snakes display considerable individual variability (fig. 8).

Fig. 8. Decorative painted designs of plaza groups (left to right): Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture, Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe. All solid figures within the frames are red.

Associated with this ornamentation is a burity leafstalk pole (pure) 4–5 m. in length and colored red with urucú; holding this emblem the novices marched to the plaza and sang there.

This plaza grouping is retained on the following days when the pepyé collect their food at their maternal homes every evening after sunset. Each group in a body successively visited the homes of all members; the sum total of the yield, however, was combined without regard to group distinctions at the novices' site in the plaza and equitably distributed among all.

Eight days later, at the closing pepyé ceremony, the pure were replaced by poles of pindahyba wood with pyrographed designs (kukąkaiką'ra = ornamented pindahyba), these emblems being manufactured in the meeting houses of the plaza groups. The novices, holding these poles, marched in two parallel lines around the boulevard, the eastern plaza groups on the left, the western on the right. The procession was headed by the precentor and precentresses, the commandant and the chief acting as masters of ceremonies for the entire festival; beside each pepyé walked his prospective mother-in-law, leading him by a cord round his neck (pl. 40, *a*).

Next the two companies took up positions in the plaza, each on its own side. The pindahyba poles of the eastern groups were united in a bundle and set up on the west side, and vice versa. Then the chief conducting the proceedings uttered a yell, whereupon two down-covered pepyé came rushing out of the meeting houses of the Dwarf Parrots (western) and of the Bats (eastern), each trying to precede the other in knocking down their opponents' sheaf of poles. This closed the pepyé celebration proper.

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Apart from their functions at initiation, the plaza groups likewise figure at the tepyarkwé (Fish Song) festival, for throughout that celebration the east and the west groups run log races. In the solemnities themselves two societies perform—the me'kê'n (=Aquatic Birds) or Clowns; and the "Fishes" recruited from the six plaza groups, among whom the Bats are conspicuous.

The contemporary functions of this complex scheme of three eastern and three western groups with distinctive personal names, decorative paint, and meeting houses hardly warrant its existence. I consider it possible that the present plaza groups represent clans formerly localized within the village, that these units fell into genealogical confusion, but retained their ceremonial obligations. The Akwẽ-Seréntе, like the Bororo, have moieties composed of several localized clans with ceremonial functions. Possibly the Timbira moieties shared this feature in earlier times.

Age Classes and Age Moieties

The age classes result from the boys' initiation, which accordingly requires discussion from a structural point of view, ceremonial aspects being reserved for treatment in a subsequent section.

All males pass through an approximately ten-year cycle of initiation. Those jointly initiated form a fixed lifelong age class: no one can resign or join a younger or older class. Thus, apart from the as yet uninitiated boys below, say, ten years of age, all males belong to some age class. In addition, the prospective novices at the next initiation organize in an unofficial class, mimicking so far as possible the youths' activities.

The four youngest and athletically active of the recognized classes occupy each a distinct place in the plaza, two on the east and two on the west side. This position automatically shifts with the lapse of time. Two successive entering classes always alternate as to the side of the plaza they enter: if the earlier is admitted on the east, the second inevitably goes to the west side about ten years later. With the appearance of a new class the survivors of the older active class on the same side leave the sport community, passing into the council, that is, into the very center of the plaza. The next older class of the side moves into the site thus vacated, creating in turn a gap that is filled by the newcomers. Ten years or so later the newly founded age class inaugurates a corresponding shift on the complementary side. Since the newcomers always enter on the north side, the transposition is invariably southward.

In figure 9 the as yet uninitiated boys are represented by a broken circle. The age mates completing initiation in a given year are designated as pepyé (warriors), and their position is marked by a double circle. The admission, shift, and exit of all surviving classes (as of November, 1935) are schematically represented; four classes now extinct figure with Arabic ciphers. It is thus possible to indicate the period of admission of the oldest men now living. However, the mechanism is adequately illustrated by the last three initiations (1913, 1923, 1933). All dates prior to 1923 are only approximate. Generally the span of a cycle is a decade, with positive or negative variations as great as two years.

In 1913 the cycle of age-class D (the present rópkama), which occupied the northwest site in the plaza, came to a close. Hence, the hitherto unofficial class E (the present kapranpotíkama) entered the scene opposite, that is, on the northeast, hitherto occupied by C (the present kokrụ'tkama). Hence C moved to the site of A (the present kukóekama), a class twenty years older and then the oldest of the four classes. Consequently the survivors of A left the racing association, passing into the middle of the plaza to become councilors.

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the house of the challenging team's vṵ'tẹ'. The course of a relay race is from this house along her semicircle, thence onward. Two competitors theoretically run from the house of the challenger's vṵ'tẹ' across the plaza to the opponents' vṵ'tẹ' house. In the present village the ground slopes southward in some measure, so these races always proceed from the house of the vṵ'tẹ' of the eastern age-class moiety (on the north side of the village) to the vṵ'tẹ' house of the complementary pair.

Leaders.—The two official leaders, mamkyẽ'ti, of a class represent, respectively, the eastern and western plaza groups. Before the opening of the first initiation phase they are carefully selected by the councilors from among the prospective initiates. To begin the solemnities these two boys are led out of their mothers' houses and made to face each other in the plaza. Their badge is a fan of erect arara tail feathers worn at the back of the head. In the earlier phase, where the initiates of the eastern and the western plaza groups appear separately, each leader heads his group, all marching in Indian file. In the latter phase, where this dichotomy no longer holds, and after the close of initiation, the leader of the eastern moiety takes precedence.

These mamkyẽ'ti form part of a ceremonial aristocracy (p. 97). It is they who actually govern the age classes, being possibly the only functionaries who literally issue orders among the Canella, a task for which they are trained from the beginning. Only they have the right to summon their class fellows, who are obliged to obey the call and may not assemble without their leaders. Anyone who has dealings with a class, including the chiefs, must turn to its mamkyẽ'ti. These leaders are subject only to the council and—during the initiation period—also to the mekapónkate (instructor, commandant), who belongs to an older class, and to his deputy, the mekapónkatekahą'k, the senior member of the class to be initiated.

In case of a leader's death no substitute is chosen. If both mamkyẽ'ti should die prematurely, the instructor's deputy assumes the leadership, but this is always regarded as a calamity for the class. Theoretically, the leaders are equals, but in practice the abler of the two soon gains ascendancy without, however, completely eclipsing his colleague. In contrast to the chiefs, the mamkyẽ'ti exercise no authority whatever beyond their age class.

In former times the mamkyẽ'ti led their class in war and in the chase, though always aided by one or several older men. Since warfare belongs completely to the past and communal hunting has dwindled in importance the present significance of these officers is slight—apart from ceremonial. The present situation for the several classes is as follows:

(a) The youngest class, kra'tą̃'kama, is actually governed by its mekapónkate.

(b) The next older class, põhįtĩkama, has two mamkyẽ'ti, but they are completely overshadowed by the personality of Kapẽrtų'k, the second commandant and actual leader.

(c) The kapranpotĩkama have a very able and energetic leader named Yõ'ro; his colleague is no longer living. During the last pepyé ceremony of this class (1923) Čątú was their instructor; he remained with them after the close of the initiation and from sheer devotion to his pupils continues as their nonofficial commandant. Yõ'ro still continues to regard him as a superior.

(d) The oldest active class, the rópkama, have only one mamkyẽ'ti, Koipõ'ro, the other having died.

The term mamkyẽ'ti, evidently connected with kyẽ, exogamous moiety, suggests that the leaders originally represented the exogamous halves rather than the plaza

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The festive societies and the King Vultures (p. 98 f.) render similar assistance to *their* members.

But while the growth of agriculture adds to the practical work of the classes, there is diminution by the lessening importance of the communal hunts and the complete elimination of war raids.

Corrections.—Some of my own earliest statements, as well as some of Snethlage's, require explicit correction.[178]

The complete initiation requires not three to five, but about ten years; the number of class leaders is two, not one; not the three, but the four youngest classes are actively engaged in sport; the terms kõ'ikateyẽ and harãkateye do not—in this connection—designate the exogamous moieties, but their namesakes, the eastern and western class moieties; the classes meet in the houses of their vụ'tẹ', not of their commandants.

It is quite wrong to speak, as Snethlage does, of a "men's tribal society" into which boys and youths are admitted after numerous tests and ceremonies. The total number of age classes is indefinite, and their totality does not constitute one grand organization. Further, the commandants do not form the elders' council which is really made up of the survivors of no longer athletically active classes, irrespective of their previous incumbency as commandants. As already explained, an exogamous moiety is not headed by "the commandant of its (!) age class," for it has no headman at all. Finally, it is thoroughly confusing to say that a married man continues to take part in the activities of his age class, *"which does not admit his wife's brothers."* Since the classes have nothing to do with the exogamous moieties but are each composed of age mates of *both* moieties, a man and his brothers-in-law may very well belong to a single class.

The Men's Societies[179]

There are six organized men's societies, which appear only during certain festivals. They are: rop, Jaguars; kukén, Agoutis; koikayú, Ducks; hąk, Falcons; kõkrį'ť, Water Monster (masqueraders); me'kẽ'n, Aquatic Birds (buffoons). For convenience the last two may be referred to as Mummers and Clowns, respectively.

Possibly the Fish companies at the tepyarkwá festival and the hõčwá at the sweet-potato ceremony might also be reckoned under this head. Not so the King Vultures, who must be put into a different category (p. 98).

The societies are referred to as me'kwẹ', a term also applied to the age classes. A man will say, "meikwẹ' pẽ kukén," I belong to the Agouti society. Usually a society has some thirty members. Except for the Clowns, the organizations are entered by virtue of one's names (p. 77). Many Indians simultaneously belong to more than one society, but in that case the several societies are usually such as are not obliged to appear at the same time. For instance, one Tunkõ' is a Falcon, a Jaguar, and a Mummer. In addition he also served as a substitute for the Little Falcon in the terminal ceremony of the vụ'tẹ' season and was head of the King Vultures.

Each society has a head appointed by the council and called hõpa'hí, like the tribal chiefs. He is chosen for his gaiety and eloquence, being expected to infuse life into the festive proceedings.

Though women are not admitted to regular membership, each society has two girl associates, mekuičwẹ'i. There is no indication that they anciently represented

[178] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 671. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167, 169, 170.

[179] These societies evidently are quite distinct in function from the ferents men's organizations. See Nimuendajú, The Serents, 59–64. R. H. L.

1[i.e. collective labor in harvesting ---Analyst.]

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JEALOUSY

152 836 626 Among young men any expression of jealousy or resentment over a slight would be considered mean and ridiculous. On the other hand, girls take little pains to suppress corresponding sentiments. In a fit of jealousy Kentapí told her lover that she would wait till he was gone, then lure her rival, Muruwá, out into the steppe, club her to death, and lead him to inspect the skeletal remains on his return. Fortunately, as elsewhere, big talk and action do not always coincide in Ponto. As a matter of fact, the two girls could not carry their hostility to extremes because the omnipotent social structure is bound to unite them again and again in defiance of personal sentiments. Such a thing as having a woman declare that she would not attend the afternoon dance lest she meet her rival is wholly inconceivable for a Timbira. Accordingly, soon after these two were seen dancing and singing together in one line.

SEX IDEAL

832 836 784 [164] The Rąmkŏ'kamekra ideal for both sexes involves a stature that is not too short; light skin color; long and ample hair; a well-nourished body; small eyes; and a nimble gait. Males are supposed, in addition, to wear large earplugs. A lazybones (čukaká) who plays truant at log races or hunting and obviously evades work will have no luck in getting a wanton, let alone a wife. There were two or three such čukaká in the tribe—one of them probably afflicted with hookworm acquired on some begging trip. The others declared that they had somehow transgressed the food taboos imposed on young people of both sexes relating to the flesh of the little anteater, armadillo, porcupine, paca, capybara, sucurijú and jacaré, and to ostrich eggs, electric eels, and rays—prohibitions removed only after marriage.

832 581 Good log racers arouse the girls' pleasure and admiration, as do good singers and dancers. Yet in the choice of a husband a competent hunter looms as more attractive, lack of skill in the chase being a decided obstacle. Pądnhì had graduated from the initiation ceremonies, was twenty to twenty-two years old, had been long engaged to a girl, and according to the list he recited to me had killed many kinds of game; but he explained that this was far from adequate and that he would have to give many further proofs before marriage. However, there is no formal test; the general impression that a young man is able to supply a wife and family with meat suffices.

The only form of love magic observed is the secret removal of hair from the temples of the beloved person, whereby it is believed possible to assure a permanent union.

PREREQUISITES TO MARRIAGE

582 [831] 881 In former times no young man was permitted to marry before completing the cycle of initiation ceremonies, thereby attaining the status of a warrior, pēp. Premature sexual intercourse, it is said, impairs one's prowess as a log racer. As described (p. 200), the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony of the last initiation phase involves the leading of engaged youths by their prospective mothers-in-law. However, the young warriors were by no means obliged to marry at once, being allowed to remain single as long as they pleased; since the difference within a class may amount to as much as ten years, some members had not yet attained the necessary age.

For girls it was essential to have obtained the corded girdle (me'pré) before marriage and to be virgins; and marriage with a virgin was considered indissoluble. This girdle was bestowed after at least one season's service as the associate of some men's organization. The two vų'tę' and the warrior girls who graduate from

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initiation with the young men do not receive their girdle until the close of their term of office—in both cases of about five years' duration. In former days, furthermore, they did not erect the elevated platform bed prior to receipt of the girdle, hence had no previous visits of their lovers at night. This statement, I think, may be accepted as definitely established by the information given by the older Rąmkõ'kamekra. It is the paternal kinswoman who transfers names to a girl that also gives her the girdle.

There are no marriage tests for the Timbira. The log races so often represented as such by earlier writers are in no way connected with matrimony. Agreeing with Abreu, I must emphasize this point because Snethlage expressly reports contradictory information. On the other hand, he rightly corrects Ignace's gross error in crediting the Canella with the ant trial.[355]

At present some mothers try to accelerate the development of breasts by dealing a daughter a few light taps against the nipples with their finger joints—usually in the morning on waking up. Girls also practice this custom among themselves. I once observed a ten-year-old girl who for this reason wore a broad grass strip tied tightly across the chest, with a little disk of charcoal over each nipple and under the grass strip.

Nowadays only a minority of girls attain puberty as virgins. *De facto* most of them are already married at twelve or have had extramarital relations. On the other hand, I do know a number of girls—the vų'tę' Repiya, for example—who are at least fourteen and still virgins. (See pl. 28, *b*, *c*.) Such chaste girls, who are invariably engaged, are educated for indissoluble wedlock and guarded by their elder kinswomen. As for the rest, one is never sure when their period of betrothal—assuming its existence—ends and when matrimony begins. In the orthodox view they would all be wantons with whom any bachelor might consort freely, breaking the relationship, at least in the absence of offspring, at the will of either party.

As for the youths, at present a considerable number are married before the completion of their initiation. The Rąmkõ'kamekra connive at this transgression, which unlike the present Apinayé, they do not penalize by forcible separation.

All the Eastern Timbira are strictly monogamous; even tradition reports not a single polygynous or polyandrous union. Snethlage correctly rejects Tuggia's allegation[356] that the Krahõ' permit polygamy.

DEFLORATION AND MENSTRUATION

Like their Apinayé cousins,[357] the Rąmkõ'kamekra firmly assert that menstruation is impossible prior to sexual congress. Such a theory is after a fashion intelligible for the Apinayé, whose girls with possibly a few exceptions are actually deflowered before their first menses, but for the Rąmkõ'kamekra it is utterly inconceivable: first, because I personally know a number of girls who were surely of age yet were rated and married as virgins; secondly, as explained above, marriage three generations ago was quite generally not entered before this age *and* in a condition of chastity. This is confirmed by Ribeiro: "Destinam-se entre elles o consorcio das mulheres logo que pouco mais ou menos tenham 14 ou 15 annos." Moreover, says Pohl, writing of the Põrekamekra, "dass hier das Beispiel eines gefallenen Mädchens eine unerhörte Sache sey."[358] The statement by Pohl, cited by Snethlage

[355] Frões Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 187. Snethlage, Nordostbras., 171, 183. Ignace, Capiekrans, 147.

[356] Frei Rafael Tuggia, Mappa, 123.

[357] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 75.

[358] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 18. Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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841 853 171 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always supposed that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved. [123]

881 841 585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since defloration and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed. [412]

No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning. [757]

836 627 596 Though premarital defloration has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital defloration was virtually nonexistent.

833 171 Like the Apinayé and the Šerénte, the Rąmkõ'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.

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526 organization of teamwork. In contrast to the Apinayé, these people make not the slightest effort to improve inferior achievements in log racing."

554 The champion racers (mehitų'i) are esteemed and enjoy a certain prestige, but no special prerogatives or insignia.

The following is the constitution of the opposing sides:

526 1. During the ceremonial season it is in general the two western age classes that
616 are pitted against the eastern pair. This arrangement still holds if a ketúaye or pepyé festival is held that year.

561 2. The pąrakahą'k race at the beginning of the pepyé seclusion is exceptional in
575 that the western plaza groups compete with the eastern ones. For further exception, see below under 7.

3. During the entire course of a pepkahą'k celebration the Duck society races against the Falcons. At the close of this festival the Clowns, the King Vultures, and the pepkahą'k themselves side with the Falcons.

4. During a tepyarkwá the eastern run against the western plaza groups; or, in the simpler form of the festival, the eastern and western age classes oppose each other.

5. During the Mummers' festival the Mummers and the Agoutis race against the Jaguars.

6. The Agoutis, aided by the Clowns, also oppose the Jaguars at the termination celebration of every ceremonial season.

7. During the meipimrą'k season the ką' are pitted against the atų'k.

526 In former times there also seems to have been competition between members of
628 different tribes; and since the performers would clandestinely bring along weapons and hide them somewhere en route—a thing that never happened in intratribal contests—dangerous brawls resulted. I heard of instances apparently dating back some forty to fifty years. The Apąnyekra, then far more numerous than now, would come to visit the Rąmkõ'kamekra, manufacturing logs at a suitable distance from the village and then issuing their challenge. Since there was always some bad blood between these tribes, the race would terminate in sanguinary fighting.

526 On certain occasions the bigger girls and young women likewise race with logs;
● 881 but while the annual number of men's races far exceeds a hundred, I know of only the following four occasions that involve a feminine race as part of the programme:

562 1 and 2. When at the close of each phase of initiation a tamed wild pig is killed and prepared for eating, a log race is arranged. The simultaneously racing men are grouped according to eastern and western age classes, to which units there is no feminine parallel. Accordingly the matrilineal kinswomen of members of the eastern age classes compete with those of the western classes.

3. According to a corresponding principle the several feminine log-race teams at the tepyarkwá festival are recruited from matrilineal kinswomen of the eastern and western plaza moieties.

4. At the opening of the meipimrą'k season there is a log race for girls and women. Since the dual division of this period embraces both sexes, the organization into teams automatically follows for both.

526 Although the girls and women are always granted a considerable handicap in
562 competition with the youths and men, they are invariably soon overtaken. The women's logs are manufactured by the men and often made too heavy. Four times I witnessed the desperate, but vain efforts by the women to carry their logs into the village unaided; they were especially baffled by the downtrodden sand of the

" Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 74.

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was told, the family of the injured wife would have demanded indemnification. Again, an intoxicated Indian kicked his wife and she was ailing for some time after; a divorce ensued, but no further consequences. In addition I noted four or five rather harmless drunken brawls. When a drunkard remains a nuisance, the chiefs have him tied unless the man's relatives have already resorted to that measure, not as a penalty but a precaution. I have never seen in any Timbira village a post to which culprits are tied by way of punishment.[307]

The damages demanded when defloration is not followed by wedlock and the attitude toward adultery have been described.

Disciplinary transgressions are punished only in the case of the lads in initiatory seclusion. During the nocturnal reunions of the pepyé in their first commandant's courtyard, the culprit was called to appear between the double line of pepyé seated along the walls, where the second commandant addressed to him a prolix rebuke. In graver cases the boy had to lift his arms and the two messenger boys administered several lashes on his back with the long, thin rods (pĩhêre) that are their inseparable appanage. A pepyé who breaks the rule of chastity is forced to eat great quantities of Cayenne pepper. In 1933 the councilors were about to decree this penalty for Tepyét because he sneaked out of his retreat every night to visit his fiancée; but when Tepyét saw that the elders really meant to punish him, he altered his conduct in the nick of time. Among the Apą'nyekra such a culprit would be removed from his retreat and set in the plaza beside his associate in guilt, which was regarded as very ignominious.

Evil sorcerers were executed (see p. 239 f.).

The following legal principles emerge from the concrete instances: (1) Both the culprit and the aggrieved party are aided by the extended families; (2) the chiefs and councilors take pains to adjust quarrels as soon as possible; (3) for this purpose they use the services either of specially gifted persons or of the individuals linked by specially close ties to the parties involved.

Chiefs.—As indicated above, a chief does not command and punish, but is above all a peacemaker. He does not interfere in a family's private affairs, but when his decision is requested it is held binding. At the time of my visit there were three village chiefs, Ropką' (Jaguar-skin), Hąktokót, and Kukrãčą'. Ropką', the oldest, had been mamkyẽ'ti of an age-class that graduated about 1893, but his colleagues had never served in a corresponding capacity. Whenever strife threatens, the chiefs and councilors send men of recognized skill as moderators to calm a refractory tribesman.

The leader of any unit excepting the age-classes is called pa'hí, mehopa'hí, but only a village chief is hąmrén.

Chiefs exercise little political control and display a minimum of individual assertiveness, for the omnipresent ceremonial regulates most of the social life, and it is their and the council's duty to maintain the customary law rather than legislate anew. Chiefs lack badges of official status and receive not a whit more of the food offerings periodically presented in the plaza than the councilors associated with them. They work for a living precisely as any fellow tribesman. However, they do enjoy a measure of prestige, as shown by certain rules of etiquette. Thus, strangers must present themselves to one of the chiefs and explain the object of their visit; he may then either discuss the matter with his colleagues and the council at their next session or immediately call an extraordinary meeting. In the plaza a chief always sits near the center, for it would be indecorous for anyone else to seat himself in front of a chief or to turn his back upon him.

[307] As related by Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 13.

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that they were surfeited with running as age-class moieties. He ordered his katę'mre team to make two small, hollowed-out logs of burity (katę'mre), and suddenly the hunters, divided according to rainy season moieties, came running into the village with their logs. Neither the logs nor the racers had been properly painted.

In the late afternoon the katę'mre and va'mẽ'ye then arranged a relay race, using as race wands anajá palm midribs with green palm-leaf tufts at the top, which were deposited in the plaza after the race.

As I was leaving the village on August 23, the Indians were just about to abrogate the prematurely begun meipimrę'k ceremonial in order to be able to close the vu'tę' season in proper fashion. Thereupon, I was told, the meipimrę'k régime would be reinstated.

The lodges of the rainy season moieties are the maternal homes of the girl associates of age classes in process of initiation (ketúaye-kuičwę'i or pepyé-kuičwę'i). Of these girls, one is *patrilineally* of the kę'makra, the other patrilineally atu'k-makra. Each rainy season moiety assembles in the house of the girl whose father belongs to it.

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The Initiation Festivals

Introduction

As explained above (p. 90 ff.), all boys undergo two performances each of two distinct ceremonies, ketúaye and pepyé, the repetition being identical with the corresponding first performance. The four ceremonies are spread out over approximately ten years. It is the tribal council that decides when the boys are ready, and it may insist on an extra repetition of either ceremony. Further, it also determines which of the noninitiatory festivals shall be celebrated in any year that has neither initiation ceremony. Thus, the following scheme applied between 1923 and 1935:

1923: pepyé (end of initiation for kaprąnpotîkama class)
1924: kõkrĵ't=Mummers (observed by Snethlage)
1925 ?: tepyarkwá?
1926: first ketúaye (beginning of initiation of põhĵtîkama)
1927: second ketúaye
1928: pepkahą'k (observed by Frões Abreu)
1929: first pepyé
1930: third ketúaye (observed by Nimuendajú)
1931: pepkahą'k (observed by Nimuendajú)
1932: tepyarkwá
1933: second pepyé (end of initiation of põhĵtîkama, observed by Nimuendajú)
1934: first ketúaye (beginning of initiation of kra'tę'kama)
1935: kõkrĵ't (observed by Nimuendajú)

Both ketúaye and pepyé include an approximately three months' period of seclusion terminating in a final celebration that lasts three days for ketúaye and two weeks for pepyé. However, these two phases of initiation differ greatly as to the character of the segregation. During ketúaye the boys appear in public every afternoon to participate with their relatives in the dancing on the plaza (p. 173). Even apart from this, an exceptional fleeting appearance may be granted them singly (p. 174). The boys of the eastern plaza groups are quartered in a dwelling of corresponding size on the east side of the village circle, the boys of the western plaza groups staying opposite on the west side. Pepyé seclusion is far more rigorous; these initiates, each confined to his own matrilineal home, are neither to be seen nor heard at all by the outside world.

The terminal celebrations of both phases share the pereá hunt with subsequent race, the pąrare race with miniature logs (pl. 35, *d*) and the ceremonial slaying of a

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tamed peccary (taitetú). The pąrare race and probably the pereá hunt also, with the subsequent race, may be secondary transfers from ketúaye to pepyé.

The principal object of ketúaye is manifestly to bring the boys into contact with the spirits of the dead—a singular association of religion with the socioceremonial organization of this tribe (cf. p. 163). This communion, helpful and necessary for the boys, is fraught with danger for all inexperienced persons. This basic idea finds expression not only in the origin myth, which reports how the several ceremonies and songs of the spirits were furtively seen and overheard, but also in such acts as the feeding of the boys with invisible victuals. Evidently the original belief was that the spirits, lured by their own songs as regularly chanted by the boys, enter the bodies of the novices, who henceforth behave like the spirits themselves until these are removed by ablutions and flagellation. Hence the race with the miniature logs of the spirits.

However, no contemporary Canella clearly grasps this conception. While some informants offer explanations and suggestions wholly in harmony with mine, others search for all sorts of rationalistic or even therapeutic warrants *ad hoc*, exposing the secondary character of their interpretations. These men are honestly convinced that all ceremonial exists for its own sake exclusively and do not bother their heads over questions of origin and significance.

The Apinayé, who in general are somewhat more religiously inclined, wholly lack the notion of a communion between novices and spirits at initiation.

Quite different is the object of pepyé, said to have originated in the voluntary seclusion of two boys for the express purpose of developing as rapidly as possible into strong young men—not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents, killed by a man-eating giant falcon. The avowed purpose of entering as a boy and suddenly emerging as a handsome young man, according to Indian standards of beauty, is too transparent a notion to have escaped even the attention of Neo-brazilian neighbors. Any settler when questioned will at once explain that the Indians shut up their lads in a *chiqueiro* (pigsty) and marry them off after forced feeding designed to enhance their virility.

Actually graduation from the entire initiation cycle was a prerequisite to matrimony, but by no means rendered immediate marriage obligatory. For one thing, the age of the initiates would range from fifteen to twenty-five, while males rarely took a wife before they were twenty. However, the pepyé festival does include instructions about the choice of spouses and married life, and the terminal ceremony, in which their prospective mothers-in-law lead the initiates by a rope, drastically represents the impending union.

Thus, the ketúaye is basically a religious performance, while the pepyé belongs to the social sphere.

I shall now present the origin myth of the ketúaye and then describe my own observations; this will be followed by parallel data on the pepyé.

KETÚAYE

Origin myths.—The great falcon Hąkti had devoured so many villagers that the survivors decided to flee. A boy who had been delayed in a plantation and knew nothing of this decision was left behind. When at last he went home and entered the deserted village, he saw in the plaza a crowd of dancing and singing figures who were painted red. He was about to walk up to them at once, when the shade of his deceased uncle warned him to go round the outside of the village. The souls of the dead in the plaza, however, had already noticed him. "Look, there is a boy coming!" cried one. "He is mine!" cried another. "No, mine!" exclaimed a third. The boy fled, but outside the settlement he climbed a lofty tree, from which he could survey the plaza. Thence he saw how something was being brought to the souls from the houses. They knelt down, cupped their hands

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under their mouths, and were fed in this posture. Then they resumed dancing and sang, "hamuyẽ-hẽ hamuyõ-ho a-hõ hamuyẽ-hẽ hamuyõ-hõ a-hõ hamuyẽ rikavá!" They also had other songs, which the boy learnt. When he at last caught up with his people, he reported about the behavior of the dead and taught them their songs.

Another myth connects with a cannibalistic Ar'azon, Kupãtiayabré, who had driven the Indians to abandon their village because of her attacks and who had raised two kidnaped boys. One of these stole a pet mutum (*Mitua mitu*) of the cannibal's, and she then plotted against their lives, but at night they managed to escape. In the evening they reached the deserted tribal village and were very hungry. Outside they met their grandfather, who was fetching firewood. He accompanied the boys into the village, where many people were dancing in the plaza. The old man fed the boys, but the food disappeared before they had touched it. Then the boys recognised that the beings dwelling there were the souls of the dead. When they returned to their kin, they told about this experience. Then a brave and clever man returned to the deserted village and clandestinely learned the souls' chants and ceremonies.

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Organization in 1930; officers.—This was the third ketúaye of the põhjtîkama age class. The first, opening their cycle, had occurred in 1926, but was not performed according to the proper routine, hence had to be repeated the next year. In 1928, pepkahą'k, a festival independent of initiation, was celebrated; in 1929 the age class underwent the first performance of the second phase, pepyé; and in 1930 the second half of the cycle started with a third ketúaye.

Arriving about the end of May, 1930, I found that the ceremony had begun about a fortnight before, hence for this period I have to depend on the statements of participants. Confidentially, the elders had told me in the previous year that the celebration would begin in May, but the exact date of the commencement was only decided in a general conclave of the councilors. It was purposely postponed until the Indian agent in Barra do Corda assured them that I was coming soon. The general direction was assumed by two chiefs, of whom Hąktokót, representing the western plaza groups, played the chief part. His colleague Kukrãčą' represented the eastern plaza groups, for in ketúaye the significant dual grouping is that of the plaza.

The chiefs first appointed as two mekapónkote, one from each of these nonexogamous moieties, two young men in their mid-twenties, who had graduated from initiation and were qualified for this office by their serious disposition. They command the two plaza moieties of the ketúaye and carry as badges two long, thin rods. In a procession they march at the tail end of the ketúaye.

Next were chosen two hapąnkate (catchers), one from each plaza moiety—men of about thirty, with constabulary duties. These officials carry sword clubs and wear plaited forehead cords and bandoleers.

At the initial ketúaye of this class in 1926 the elders had already selected two mamkyẽ'ti (class leaders) from among the novices starting on their cycle. This office is lifelong, hence the same functionaries served in 1930. They invariably lead a procession. Their badge consists of a fanlike occipital ornament of towering arara tail feathers (pl. 35, *a*).

Since the office of the girl associates (mekuičwę'i) is also lifelong, the present incumbents, Koté and Hąrarák, had been appointed at the opening of the cycle and had served in the three preceding performances of the current cycle. Contrary to my own earlier information, these associates do not represent the exogamous moieties; they are chosen with reference to their *patrilineal* descent to represent the two rainy season (ką'makra and atų'kmakra) moieties. When they are painted for the closing pepyé celebration, one girl is reckoned as of a western plaza group (kétre), the other as of an eastern plaza group (čépre).

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The girls' place is in the middle of the boys' line. Each has as her badge two chest

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cords, from which hang beaded tassels, a rod comb, and a little bowl for urucú. (See pl. 20, *a*.) The badges are made by the girl's maternal uncle, and are difficult to buy because as long as she lives she treasures the decoration as a souvenir of her ceremonial activity.

Finally, the ketúaye require two precentors to teach the boys dances and songs, which is done without dance-rattle accompaniment. They bear the title of the model dancer at the ordinary dances of women and girls, namely, ikrérekate. They stand at the extreme end of the line, beside the leader, and wear no badges. Chief Hąktokót himself assumed the office for the eastern plaza moiety, while a man of mature years who also served as model dancer on other occasions figured in the same capacity for the western groups.

The date for opening the solemnity was known only to the councilors and the newly chosen officials. On the afternoon selected the two catchers successively entered each of the several dwellings of his own plaza moiety, led out a boy, and took him to the plaza. The two lads were placed opposite each other, so as to initiate two parallel lines extending from east to west, the eastern plaza moiety line on the south side, the western plaza moiety line on the north side. The first two boys thus led to the plaza were the age-class leaders. There followed sixteen boys from each side and finally the two girls.

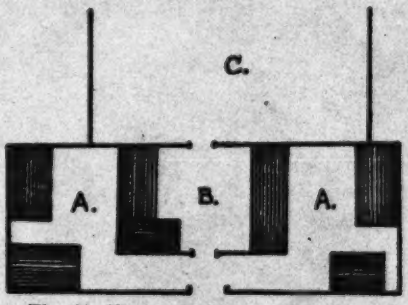

Fig. 11. House of seclusion of ketúaye. A, living room; B, interment cell; C, courtyard.

= platform beds.

Seclusion.—Immediately after the completion of the two lines, the two commandants led them into the woods to fetch palm leaves for their seclusion chambers. These are invariably in the same two houses, which occupy rather exactly the east and west points of the village, and with this function in mind are from the start built on a larger scale than the ordinary dwellings. Each of the two groups is domiciled on the appropriate side.

At the rear wall of each of the two houses a chamber, each 5 m. long and of somewhat lesser width, is partitioned off by high grass walls, but so as not to extend to the front wall of the house, thus leaving a corridor between this wall and the front wall of the chamber. Facing the front wall of the house the chamber wall has its entrance, usually covered with a mat, and the back wall that is common to the house and the chamber provides an exit. In order to render the ketúaye invisible when occupied in the open air, two grass walls several meters long project from the back of the house at right angles to it. (Fig. 11.)

Except for their afternoon singing the ketúaye, including the class leaders, remain day and night in their chambers. The commandants and the girls sleep with their families, but spend the entire day with the secluded novices. On the other hand, the catchers and precentors never enter the chambers; they join the ketúaye only when these take up their places in the plaza.

During their entire seclusion the ketúaye daily appear in the plaza toward 5 P.M., in order to sing there. The catchers give the signal for the assembly by standing opposite each other in the plaza, one facing west, the other east; they leave a sufficient space to permit the double line of ketúaye to form between them. As soon as

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the catchers raise their right hands, the expectant ketúaye simultaneously sally forth from their houses of seclusion and march to the plaza in single file, each group headed by its leader and the respective commandants bringing up the rear. In the plaza they form a double line between the catchers, the easterners facing north, the westerners south at a distance of about two meters from each other. Now the precentors assume their respective positions, while from all sides the boys' male and female relatives, as well as other spectators, come out of their residences. The boys' matrilineal kinswomen bring gourd bottles filled with water and place them on the ground; each stands behind her son, nephew, grandson, brother or cousin, thus forming an additional line on each side behind the novices. Some short distance behind these women stands a more or less complete row of kinsmen, and still farther back are other spectators. (Fig. 12.)

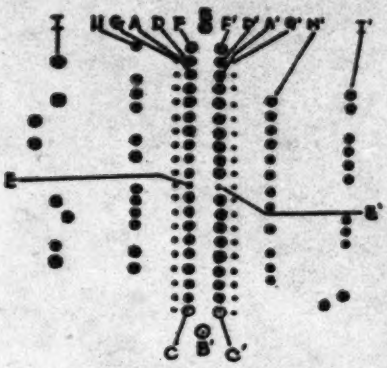

Fig. 12. Position of ketúaye for singing in plaza. A, A', ketúaye; B, B', catchers; C, C', commandants; D, D', class leaders; E, E' girl associates; F, F', precentors; G, G', kinswomen; H, H' male relatives; I, I', spectators.

Soon the precentors begin the songs and dance of the souls. There are always five songs, each being repeated several times. The boys take up the chant. The dancing, as always with this tribe, starts feebly, gradually growing more animated, and finally vehement. The boys' kinswomen step up to them, put their hands on the lads' hips, and in this posture join in the dance behind them. Only the two catchers at their outposts stand immobile, their right hands raised as though in benediction.

The souls are now supposed to be present, and the kinswomen profess to lend support to the boys by their participation.

As soon as the last chant is over, the precentors step aside, then the kinswomen take up their bottles and pour the contents over the boys. This coincides with the procedure for ridding oneself of the influence of the dead after a burial. In the meantime the catchers remain mute and motionless like two statues. Suddenly they drop their right hands, hitherto kept uninterruptedly raised, whereupon the two ketúaye groups, in the order of their arrival, depart for their places of internment.

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So far as I am aware, the only instruction given to the ketúaye relates to the practices of the souls of the dead. The boys pass the time in their chambers as best they can, plaiting mats for their platform beds or manufacturing ornaments and the like. The commandant insists on quiet, staid demeanor, prohibiting noise and romping. The novices must not enter into relations with girls—a taboo sometimes felt as onerous by the bigger boys; every excess in this direction is strictly punished, the youngest member of the group lashing the transgressor's back with a rod at the commandant's request. Indecent behavior toward the girl associates does not occur.

The ketúaye are not at liberty to leave their chambers without the special permission of their mekapónkate. They are not supposed to appear singly in public. Accordingly, in the exceptional instances of absence by leave, they always dash to their destination and back again at a mad pace. Food is brought to the house of internment by a boy's mother or maternal aunt.

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Interruptions.—By the middle of June the ketúaye were sufficiently trained to warrant the holding of the terminal solemnity, but several incidents interfered with the program. In the first place, the arrival of whisky dealers near the village led to alcoholic excesses for a while, preventing the assemblage of the personnel for the ceremonies. Secondly, a neighboring farmer threatened the Indians with vengeance for real and alleged cattle lifting, so that many Rąmkõ'kamekra retired to remote plots of cultivated land, taking ketúaye with them. Again, disturbances in the neighboring towns of Leandro and Barra do Corda, though unconnected with the Indians, maintained the existing tension, enhanced by fantastic reports about a revolution in all of Brazil and about skirmishes in the vicinity. As a result of all this, the suspicious Indians dispersed in all directions. Finally, with great difficulty I succeeded in reassembling them by July 14, and the final ketúaye ceremonial began two days later, closing on July 21.

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Closing ceremonial.—About 3 P.M. on July 16 there were two log races between the eastern and western age classes. The first involved carrying relatively light hardwood (pąrąkačą're) cylinders, 47 cm. in length and only 7 cm. in thickness, from the place of manufacture to the plaza. The second race, with thick burity logs that had served in a previous competition, was around the boulevard. There followed the daily chant of the ketúaye in the plaza.

At 4:30 P.M. the ayų'k ceremony began. The ketúaye marched to the plaza and again danced there. When they were through, the catchers took the feather ornaments of the leaders into their left hands and led the ketúaye, marching in a double column, to the front of the eastern house of seclusion, where the ketúaye in one row squatted on their heels, holding both hands, the palms up, horizontally under the chin. The two catchers stepped in front of the middle of this line, one of them proceeding to the right, the other to the left, from one boy to another. While moving in this way they seized the air with the right hand and feigned depositing something invisible into the boys' upturned hands, this being the mode of feeding the souls. Thereupon the ketúaye rose, the easterners moving northward, the westerners southward along the boulevard. They halted before the vų'tę' girls' houses in the north and south and once more mimicked the feeding of the souls, finally reuniting for the same purpose in a single line in front of the seclusion house of the western group.

After this ceremony, which consumed an hour, they again marched to the plaza, where they preserved the usual order, but sitting down instead of standing. Only the catchers remained standing, as usual holding the head feathers of the class leaders in their left hands. Immediately behind the two lines of boys sat their matrilineal kinswomen, laying both hands on the novices' shoulders. Hąktokót intoned the ayų'k song, which the boys repeated singly one after another: "hamuyẽhẽ hamuyõhõ ahõ hamuyẽhẽ hamuyõhõ ahõ hamuyẽ rikavá." Simultaneously and in time, they rubbed the palms of their hands against their thighs. After all had gone through the chant singly, they sang in chorus. Then the second ayų'k song was sung by each one singly, to the rhythmic accompaniment of the palms struck against the thighs. After this chant the ketúaye marched to their seclusion houses.

Beginning as early as 3 A.M. on the following morning there was vehement dancing in the plaza, but without the ketúaye. Before sunset chief Ropką' and his family went to a farm in order to cook sweet potatoes and yams there. At 6 A.M. six old men of the prókama age class came to call for me. Ordinarily no longer painted and decorated, these councilors had donned forehead bands and burity bast ties, and provided me with similar decoration. Uttering the call of their class, "Pro! Pro!", they trotted southward out of the village, crossed the Atolador and Ponto creeks

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and on the far bank of the latter encountered the ketúaye sitting together in two groups. One boy in each group was armed with bow and arrows. Passing them, we marched out into the steppe, where we met Ropką′ and eight women sitting by a fire with a load of sweet potatoes and yams. We waited here while the ketúaye archers were hunting pereás (*Cavia perea*). After a while distant yelling announced the hunters' success. Soon after this they appeared marching along the path in a long line, two of them carrying the weapons, while the girl associates had little carrying baskets, one of them holding a slain pereá, the other a slice of meat. As soon as the ketúaye were visible, Ropką′ and the prókama bent branches down, behind which they cowered down. As the ketúaye marched past, one prókama loudly shouted at them to deposit the food for the living. Thereupon the boys put down bows and arrows and little baskets, picked up the sweet potatoes and yams, and moved on toward the west. The elders followed, but soon turned northward, thus reaching the great race track leading westward out of the village; there they chose and cleared a spot in order to wait for the ketúaye, whose girl associates were with them. Two large gourd bowls full of water were brought, into which were put the odorous leaves of *negra mina* and another unidentified steppe tree in crushed form. The two girls, each armed with a bunch of pau de leite branches, stood behind the two bowls, their predecessors of the preceding cycle of initiation beside them. After a while the ketúaye came rushing headlong down the road, their bodies covered with short strokes in charcoal. As soon as one of them arrived, he stepped up to his group's girl associate, bracing his hands against his knees, and received some water from the bowl to drink. Then the girl poured some on his head with her hands and struck him two or three times on the back with the bundle of twigs. Thereby the souls of the dead were made to depart from the boy's body. In addition, chief Kukrãč′ą with a branch whipped the legs of several boys who had dropped behind in the race. Then all marched back on the big street to the village, the ketúaye bathing as they crossed the Santo Estevão and rubbing off their black paint with leaves.

Before noon I ordered two head of cattle slaughtered in the village, and in the afternoon meat pies were being prepared everywhere. In the meantime, along the boulevard there was a race with the thin pąrąkačą′re logs.

At 3 A.M. of the following morning I was called to the plaza, where there was dancing. Then the men divided into the two plaza group moieties, joined by the ketúaye according to the affiliation of their maternal uncles. Now the novices and the two girls were smeared, from the shoulders down, with a mixture of chewed, oily babassu palm kernels and almecega rosin, and white falcon down was stuck on. The effect was that of white bathing suits with a triangle cut out around the genitalia. Women and girls aided in the decoration of the boys. At sunrise all had completed their preparations. The three plaza groups of each moiety assembled in the order already described.

Now there formed in the very center of the plaza a group who were searching for something in the ground and finally produced two neatly carved little wooden logs painted red—the pąrare logs of the spirits of the dead. At once everyone ran out of the village by the northern road and disappeared from view. Several of the younger ketúaye, however, not being credited with the toughness essential for this perilous race, returned when a short distance beyond the village and took up positions in the plaza in a line facing north. The two girls and their predecessors also resumed positions in front of them, holding the pau de leite twigs and with the big bowls of sweet-smelling water before them. The stay-at-home boys stepped singly in front of the girls, who poured water on them from the hollow of their palms, and struck them on the back several times. (See pl. 30.)

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Hardly had this treatment of the boys present been completed when on the eminence north of the settlement the pąrare racers hove into sight, led by a youth holding one miniature log in his hand. In a mad rush he dashed up close to the girls and laid down the pąrare. Behind him came the eastern commandant with the other little log, then the other novices. All ran up to the girls, who splashed them with water and dealt them two or three lashes. Finally came the two class leaders, each straddling the shoulders of his hąpín and wearing the distinctive feather ornament. The leaders were set down before the girls, but were neither splashed nor whipped. At the very end came a ketúaye, who had evidently had a hard time of it with the spirits, for he was barely able to stand up and, as I afterward learnt, had to be subjected to special treatment, aside from the others, by Hąktokót.

After this race the ketúaye appeared in customary order to dance. Almost all of them had received from their kin forehead and body bands of mottled cotton. While they were dancing and singing, an old man—the senior of the tribe, I think—danced between the two columns, rubbed his right hand against his left armpit, and then stroked the noses and lips of the first three in the line. Then he danced so as to pass outside the lines, opened his arms, danced back again between the two columns, and similarly proceeded with the next three boys, and so on, to the very end of the group. By this procedure the ketúaye are to acquire resistance to disease, the old man transferring to them his own longevity. Rubbing the armpit seems to invest the hand with magical power apart from this setting, for example, in conjuring away a lowering thunderstorm.

After this ceremony Hąktokót walked between the two lines of novices, for which event he also summoned me. He divested all the boys of their decorative outfits—forehead bands, girdles, beaded chains; the leaders, of their feather headdresses; and the girls, of their bandoleers with the little urucú bowls, but allowed them to retain those with their ceremonial combs. Some of these gewgaws he presented to me, but the bulk of them was turned over to Nyõhí, father of the vụ'tẹ' of the western age classes.

Then the next older age class (kapręnpotíkama) led the ketúaye in a trot around the boulevard and assigned them to their (the novices') mothers' dwellings, which act terminated their seclusion. The other men again ranged themselves in the plaza according to the six plaza groups.

The novices' kinswomen now came hauling meat pies for the plaza group to which each particular ketúaye belonged. The plaza group affiliates distributed the pies equitably among themselves, ate some in the plaza, and took the residue home. Meanwhile the novices had assembled in the house of their vụ'tẹ', while the kaprąnpotíkama went to their meeting place on the other side of the village circle. The ketúaye grasped one another's hands and danced around the boulevard in two lines.

Toward noon the eastern age-class team, accompanied by women and girls left for the Brejo do Boi, twelve kilometers away, where two huge burity logs were lying all ready for a race. They had been laid in the water for a while in order to increase their weight. When the opposing team arrived, a race started from the place of manufacture to the village, where the logs were thrown down on the boulevard. Thereupon there was a funeral lamentation in the dwelling of the recently deceased champion runner. In the meantime the ketúaye, who—like the women and girls—had merely attended the race as spectators, danced around the boulevard. In the afternoon the same logs were taken up once more for a race around the boulevard, which was followed on the same track by a relay race with arrows.

On the fourth day a peccary, raised for the purpose in the village, was slaughtered

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and eaten. This ceremony is common to the terminal ritual of both initiation phases as well as of the pepkahą'k.

Before daybreak the ketúaye went bathing, then ran along the boulevard, whereupon they and several men of the western age classes marched before the house of Hąktokót, the peccary's owner. As soon as the ketúaye appeared, the women of the house burst into loud crying, but presently tied a cord round the beast's neck, handing its end to one of the men, who stepped up to the door. He led the animal outside, where it was clubbed to death while the women were wailing despondently. The women stepped up to the carcass and continued crying for a while, then it was transported to a deserted village site three kilometers downstream from the settlement. There a sunshade for the ketúaye and a windbreak for the prókama had already been prepared, the former composed of a big foliage-covered horizontal lattice of poles above a man's height. Such arbors (*latadas*) are also used at Neobrazilian festivities.

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New groups were constantly arriving until the whole population had assembled. The flesh of the peccary was partly cooked in an iron pot, partly used for meat pies, but the ketúaye received none of it, being fed with inferior victuals. The prókama were the first to be served, among them myself, for whom a hammock of interlaced burity leaves had been considerately stretched under the windbreak. There we spent the time eating and storytelling.

In the meantime the ketúaye, accompanied by several young girls, went to prepare a pair of racing logs, while the women made a huge earth oven in the camp, in which fourteen pies were steamed. Then these were distributed; the ketúaye got their share, but instead of consuming it they passed it on to their kin. Finally came the kapranpotíkama class, likewise accompanied by a bevy of young girls. They are the opponents of the ketúaye and camp opposite them on the east side of the plaza. Apparently this association of younger people of both sexes had led to sundry love affairs; at all events, several of these kapranpotí were in exuberant spirits and unable to restrain their loquacity.

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Two pairs of logs had been made and laid down beside each other in couples on the road outside the camp. The anterior, lighter pair, whose weight was once more checked by experts, was for the girls. The men and the girls then danced, each group behind their appropriate pair of logs, raising their arms and clapping hands. Then the two girls' teams first seized their logs and rushed off toward the village. The men allowed them a start, but overtook them and got to the village plaza ahead of them. However, the girls did not lag behind excessively. The course was relatively short—three kilometers—but annoyingly hilly and sandy.

In the plaza a fire was burning, round which the ketúaye and kapranpotíkama performed a wild dance; at the same time the girls grouped by threes and fours formed a broken circle round them, dancing and singing in their customary manner, and the other men stood about still farther off. At sunset this dance was followed by the plaza dance of lads and lasses customary about this hour; and this in turn was succeeded by a girls' log race around the boulevard and a men's race, by couples, from one vų'tę''s house to the other's, across the plaza. In the meantime the ketúaye and the rópkama, who likewise belong to the western team, marched along the boulevard in single file from house to house. As a member of the latter age class I joined in. As soon as one of us got to the front of his mother's dwelling, his kinswomen gave him some object toward payment for the pig slain. I noted cloth, mirrors, spoons, knives, two iron pots, and other articles. Finally, everyone in the column had some object in his hands, and thus we moved to the house of the peccary

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owner, in front of which the gifts were stacked up. The total value approximated 150 marks. The inmates sat beside the door speechless, with sullen looks and lowered heads. Now the catcher of the western ketúaye stepped out from our ranks, stooped down over his hands, which were folded over the grip of his sword club as it was resting on the ground, and delivered a soothing speech: this was the compensation for the killed animal, they should no longer be angry, and the women should cease crying. However, the latter immediately burst out crying as soon as he had done speaking. Then we formed a company of eight men abreast and marched in stooping posture, with clubs raised, stamping our feet and with a snapping movement of our mouths, from Hąktokót's residence on from house to house along the circle, always first retreating a little before each. Thus we got to the residence of the senior chief, Ropką', at the south end of the settlement, where we disbanded, though a considerable number continued the circuit on the boulevard, for their amusement, blowing their ocarinas.

On the fifth morning the ketúaye left to bring sororoca (*Heliconia*) leaves for the preparation of meat pies for a wholly unrelated festival, that of the vụ'tẹ', which immediately followed the close of ketúaye. Decorated with black paint, they returned with their load, but not before evening. On the plaza three fires were burning, near which they danced vehemently till late at night, then lying down by the fireplaces with a number of village wantons.

On the sixth morning a log race was held on the boulevard. Then Ropką', standing before the ketúaye and like them facing west, delivered a speech, in which he conferred on the age class of the ketúaye the name Hąkkama (hąk = falcon). Then he stepped before the next older class and gave them also a new name—põhį'kama (pohį' = maize). This was the last act of the ketúaye festival.

About this time the smaller boys, whose cycle was not to begin until another four years, were seized by the age-class spirit. The bigger ones among them assembled, numbering fifteen, to form an unofficial age class under the guidance of a young married man who had graduated from all the initiation rites. They gave themselves a class name, and their commandant taught them to plait, shoot, sing, and dance, also admonishing them to be honest and comradely. They went bathing together and arranged their own races and log races; their earnest, zealous mimicry of the full-fledged age classes was a genuine preparation for future membership.

PEPYÉ

Pepyé is the only ceremony actually *explained* by an origin myth. The ketúaye, kõkrį't, pepkahą'k, and tepyarkwá myths merely report in what circumstances these festivals, already in vogue among other beings, were surreptitiously seen and learnt. The Timbira regard the story of a giant falcon and the pepyé institution based on it as the common and characteristic property of all their tribes. When the aged Krĩkateye chief, visiting the President of Brazil, climbed up the steps to the portal of the Ministry of Agriculture in Rio, he was delighted to recognise in the large stone figure of an eagle at the left of the stairway the falcon of the pepyé myth. The Rąmkõ'kamekra version follows.

Myth.—Long ago there was a giant falcon, Hąkti, whose nest was on a high, steep rock. Repeatedly he would fly to the Rąmkõ'kamekra village, seize an inhabitant, drag him to his eyrie, and devour him. Thus he also ate the daughter of Kokodyo'tómre and her husband. Thereupon one morning this old man left with his wife and two grandsons, Akrẽi and Kaaku'nã', to go to a remote farm. At noon Hąkti returned, swooped down, seized an Indian, and carried him off to eat him. Kododyo'tómre and his family saw him flying past with his prey. As the falcon swirled by in its rapid flight, the gourd trumpet, still hanging from the back of the Indian carried in the bird's

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talons, blared forth with the current of air. Then the other Indians abandoned the settlement and moved far away.

After a few days the old man's wife said to her husband, "Let us inspect the village. One can hear no voices nor the blowing of trumpets there, perhaps the people have already moved." Then the four of them betook themselves to the village, but found only traces of the inhabitants' footprints. "What now?" asked the woman, "Shall we follow the footprints?" "No, let us rather stay here." The two boys also preferred this; so for years they lived alone.

One day Kokodyo'tómre and his family went to the plantation of the fugitives in order to weed the sweet-potato plots. While working, he cried. "Why are you crying, grandfather?" asked the boys. "I am crying because Hąkti has killed your mother and your father." When he went to the plots the next day, the boys stayed home with their grandmother. While the old woman was cooking, the boys were lying on the platform bed. Suddenly Kenku'nã' said, "Let us go bathing." "No," said his grandmother, "wait till the meal is ready." When it was ready, she called her grandsons, who declared they would not eat until they had returned from their bath. Then all three went to bathe in the creek by the settlement. Two thick tree trunks formed a bridge over the water. When the boys got out of the water, they spread juçára leaves over the bridge, lay down on them, and would not budge. "Come home with me," their grandmother admonished them, but the boys bade her go on ahead. "Your grandfather will scold if I leave you here alone," she objected, but the boys could not be persuaded to accompany her, so that she finally had to return alone.

When Kokodyo'tómre got back, he immediately asked for his grandsons. Hearing that they were lingering by the brook, he went there and found them still lying on the bridge. When he urged them to come home, Kenku'nã' said, "We have decided not to stir from this spot until we are big enough to avenge our parents, killed by Hąkti. Build us a hut on this bridge, grandfather, where we can spend the time until then." Then Kokodyo'tómre returned alone and told his wife that the boys were not returning but had gone into seclusion until they should be able to contend with Hąkti. He approved their plan.

Accordingly Kokodyo'tómre put up a firm grate of poles on the bridge and also a completely walled hut. The boys went in and thus were no longer seen by their grandparents. Their grandfather brought food for them. He made a race log and ran with it. He danced before the hut and sang, "Hõõõ!" He performed all the ceremonies alone. The boys frequently bathed and rapidly grew big and strong. From time to time they inquired whether Hąkti was still flying past, which the grandfather answered affirmatively. One day he wished to see whether the boys were already strong and bade them thrust a finger through the grass wall. Kenku'nã' showed him instead the thin tail of a lizard. After a while Kokodyo'tómre wanted to find out whether their hair, which already reached down from the bedstead into the water, was long enough, but they merely showed him the ends through the wall. After a while Kokodyo'tómre wanted to see the whole body of the boys. He danced toward the hut and sang, "Hõõõ!" He rubbed his hands and his wife poured water on him. He danced up closer, then he retreated and danced forward again. Then Kenku'nã' and Akrõi appeared outside as two big, strong youths. Their hair reached down to the level of their knees. Kokodyo'tómre, crying, "Hũa, hũa!" led them into the village. There the brothers demanded decoration with genipa and declared they were now ready to avenge their parents. Kokodyo'tómre was to advise them how best to effect this.

Then the grandfather made for each grandson a huge club of jatobá wood. On one moonlit night he erected a solid, well-walled hut at the foot of the rock with Hąkti's eyrie; a well-secured trail led up there. Before daybreak the brothers entered this hut. In the morning Hąkti flew from his eyrie, returning after a while with a man in his talons. As soon as he had reached his nest, the brothers stepped out of their hut and cried, "Čiu, čiu!" Hąkti at once swooped down, but they retreated into the hut so quickly that the falcon flew back in disappointment. But before he was able to sit down in his nest, the brothers again emerged from their hiding place and lured him on anew. Forthwith he swooped down, but they again escaped into the hut. They continued this until the completely exhausted bird was no longer able to rise to his eyrie, merely sitting in front of their hut with gaping beak. Then Kenku'nã' leapt out and killed him with his club.

Then they dragged him home, but let him lie on the trail outside the village. When Kokodyo'tómre saw them coming, he asked, "What have you accomplished?" "Nothing," answered Kenku'nã', "Hąkti is much too big for us." "That's what I thought from the start." "Tell our grandmother to bring in a little bird we have killed and laid in the middle of the trail." Then the old woman went out and soon dragged in the giant falcon. Kokodyo'tómre plucked him and blew the down feathers into the air; they were transformed into little birds that flew off. They dissected Hąkti and used his flesh for pies.

Kokodyo'tómre then said, "There is another bird of this kind. He is named Kukų'e (Portu-

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guese: rasga mortalha, *Caprimulgus* sp.) and in his flight he severs people's heads with his bill. He lives in a cave. The upper half of his face is red, the lower black. Have you ever seen him?" "Yes," said Kenku'nã', "and we want to kill him, too. But how can we lure him on?" "The same way as with Hąkti," said the grandfather. He built a hut under Kukąe's nest, and the boys went in. Since Kenku'nã' had already killed the giant falcon, Akréi asked to be allowed to take care of Kukąe. He stepped outside and lured the bird on, which immediately swooped down. Akréi was just able to escape indoors, while the bird swept by the hut, neatly cutting off the projecting thatch of the roof. When he got back to his cave, Akréi again enticed him and evaded him. But the third time he was too slow: Kukąe cut through his neck, his head falling to one side and his body to the other.

Kenku'nã' buried the corpse, but laid the head in the fork of a tree where boré bees were nesting. He mourned the dead youth and returned to his grandparents, to whom he reported the calamity. Then he got himself sweet potatoes from the farm for food while traveling and went to look for his emigrant tribesmen, his grandparents remaining in the old village.

As Kenku'nã' was crossing the steppe he got to the ostrich people (kupẽmą), who had fired the grass to hunt grasshoppers, lizards, and snakes. They saw him from afar and called him to come. Kenku'nã' inquired for the way to his tribesmen. The ostriches told him that a year had passed since the people had come by, but they knew exactly where they were now living. The route lay through the village of the sariema people (kupẽpyégre, *Cariama cristata*). They asked whether he wanted to eat meat and brought him a package of lizards, which he was to eat after pounding in a mortar together with manioc flat cakes. He declined and went on. He got to the sariemas, who were fishing with timbó (*Paullinia pinnata*); they invited him to join them. He then ate fish with them and inquired for his people. The sariemas answered that they had come through the village and were living near by, only two or three days' journey farther on. Then Kenku'nã' moved on and at last reached the village of his people.

He hid by the spring of the village until he saw approaching the girl engaged to him in infancy. Then he stepped forth and told her who he was. He gave her the flesh of a deer he had killed, then she returned to the village and brought him sweet potatoes. At home she pierced the grass wall by her bedstead, and in the darkness Kenku'nã' sneaked in. But the rustling of the grass when his large body slipped through the hole made the mother of his fiancée take note, though she said nothing. Before daybreak the friends of the girl came to call her to a dance, but her mother said she was unable to join because of her sore eyes. However, one of the friends shed light on the bedstead with a burning wisp of grass and noticed the man, who was unknown to her. When the men gathered in the plaza heard about it, they were furious at the intruder and decided to kill him. The mother of Kenku'nã''s fiancée, however, had recognized him, led him to the plaza, and introduced him, whereupon he told his tale.

After Akréi's death and Kenku'nã''s departure, Kokodyo'tómre and his wife also moved on and roved aimlessly over the steppe. Arriving at a mountain, he decided to walk around it to the right and bade his wife go left; they were to meet on the other side. But when they separated they turned into anteaters. Kokodyo'tómre was espied by hunters, who failed to recognize him and killed him. His wife vainly waited for him, crying, on the other side of the mountains, and at last traveled on alone as an anteater.

The gist of this legend is the brothers' entering a retreat in order to accelerate their bodily development, not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents. There is no connection with animism.

Pepyé of 1933; capture of novices.—After the ketúaye of 1930 the boys were still considered far from mature enough to close their cycle with a second pepyé in the following year. Hence, three years were allowed to elapse before the ketúaye initiates, then properly grown-up young men, were segregated for their final pepyé. I attended the entire festival (April 16 to July 18, 1933) and did my best to promote its correct performance so that I was treated as a quasi honorary member of the organization. Thus, in so far as I was not obliged to collaborate with other social units to which I belong (age class, plaza group, etc.), I was able to associate with the youths as one of their number.

Until April 16 only the councilors, whose deliberations were secret, knew the date of opening for the festival. On that day an ordinary log race was arranged, the logs having been made by the wakõ'kama age class on the Brejo da Cebola, two kilometers

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from the village, where the chiefs and councilors also gathered. They sat somewhat apart and discussed unobtrusively the appointment of qualified functionaries for the diverse offices to be filled. Without attracting attention, they summoned a man about thirty years old and made him catcher (hapą'nkate); in contrast to the ketúaye arrangement there is only a single catcher since the pepyé phase lacks the plaza group dichotomy. The choice is also independent of age-class affiliation.

Next a man named Kopkré was appointed the first commandant (mekapónkatepéy), being chosen from the põhį'kama, that is, from the next older class on the west side since a western age class was being initiated. He was about forty years old and belonged to the čẽpre (an eastern) plaza group (pl. 33, *a*).

Kapẽrtų'k, the deputy commandant (mekapónkatekahą'k) chosen, was one of the oldest of the prospective initiates, possibly twenty-three (pl. 33, *b*), His being already married militated against the ancient rule that young men take a wife only after graduation from all initiation rituals. He had not been prominent in the last [554] ketúaye of his class, but was chosen for his calmness, intelligence, and undisputed oratorical talents. He belonged to the aučẽt (western) plaza group.

The leaders were of course those of all preceding celebrations of this cycle—Čątú, about eighteen years old, of the kupẽ' plaza group (western) (pl. 33, *c*); and Karą'-hį', about twenty, of the čõdn (eastern) (pl. 33, *d*). The girl associates (pepyé-kuičwę'i) also remained identical with those serving in the preceding seclusion rituals of the cycle. They were both now about sixteen years of age. Horarák (western) was already married—another violation of traditional custom; her colleague, Koté (eastern) was merely engaged (pl. 32, *a*).

Two lads, about fourteen years old, who had served as errand boys (kra'tõ'ipakatire) at the pepkahák of 1931, were selected for the same duties now, that is, as intermediaries between the segregated youths and the outside world. Specifically, they transmit the orders of the commandant. They are not subject to the rules of seclusion.

Of these appointees only the catcher was at once made privy to the council's decisions. He ordered the wakõ'kama (i.e., the class immediately superior to the prospective initiates, hence stationed as their eastern counterparts in the plaza) to fashion a somewhat curved cylindrical club, 76 cm. in length and 5 cm. in thickness. The upper half was painted red, the butt half black, and on this latter was stuck parrot down. (See pl. 35, *c*.) The catcher clandestinely received this weapon and hid it in the prospective house of internment of the eastern class leader Čątú, who—as an exception—in contrast to all other pepyé, was not to be interned in his mother's house but in an avuncular namesake's. This maternal kinsman was living with his wife on the west side of the village, so that the leader of the eastern division was anomalously secluded on the west side, the reason being that he had no living mother or maternal aunt.

With the close of the race and the throwing down of the logs before the house of the eastern vų'tę', the class to be initiated had a precentor called. The girls ranged themselves as usual for a dance, while the youths took positions in front of them.

Suddenly the roof thatch of Čątú's (the uncle's) wife's house parted a little above the lower edge, and the catcher, himself invisible, thrust the ceremonial club (kõkrąčẽt) through the slit, pointing toward the dancers. No sooner had they caught sight of it than they answered with the piercing quavers of the "payarkwamé" cry, produced by slapping their lips with the palms of their hands. The catcher then withdrew the club and trotted out of the house toward the plaza, where he deposited it on the ground before the line of girls. Forthwith one of the wakõ'kama class,

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which was standing in its proper place in the plaza, stepped out from among them, seized the club and returned to his mates. From him I later obtained the specimen by barter (pl. 35, *c*).

At this moment the dance ceased and the girls' column was dissolved. But before the prospective initiates could depart the catcher ran to the leader of the east side, gripped his sides with both hands, and uttering the catcher's distinctive "hinkõ'!" call, viz., "hõ! hõ–õ!", he led him to the house of his maternal uncle's wife, where he laid him on the bedstead. Then the catcher at once returned to the plaza, and similarly treated the other class leader, except that on the normal principle he led him to his mother's house. After the leaders all the other novices were similarly treated.

Now the novices had to remain on their platform beds for five days, receiving for food only maize cracked in the ashes. From the moment of their capture they bear the title of "pepyé."

Feeding of pepyé; capture of officers.—Four days later the council ordered the mothers of all boys in seclusion to provide sweet potatoes and green gourds. The mother of the western leader was called to the plaza by the council and personally charged with having firewood and rocks prepared for the earth ovens. All other mothers of pepyé followed her example. When all was ready, the mother of the western leader was once more summoned, and the councilors asked whether she had experienced any pain or other disturbance during her labors. An affirmative reply would break off all preparations and postpone the festival till the next year. In the contrary case, as in 1933, the wood and rocks serve to prepare an earth oven on the inner margin of the boulevard opposite every pepyé mother's house. As soon, then, as the morning dance toward 3:30 A.M. begins, the stacks of wood supporting the rocks are kindled, so that the sweet potatoes and gourds are thoroughly baked by sunrise, ready to be carried indoors by the women.

In the meantime, on a hill one kilometer north of the village, the čõdn (eastern plaza group) have made two race logs of "Maria molle" wood. These "pąrakahą'kre" are about ½-m. long, somewhat less in thickness, and are distinguished from other logs by unique handles projecting centrally in the direction of the axis. With these the eastern run a race against the western plaza groups.

Thereupon the councilors elected old Čarčą, one of their number, to hand the sweet potatoes to the pepyé, but previously the snake doctor Paté in the character of Fish Otter (Tetti) walked about, fingering the sweet potatoes to assure himself of their softness, and reported the results to the council, who sent out another Indian functionary as "a' húare" (bird species called bico de agulha by Neobrazilians) with a painted rod a meter long. With this he ran to the eastern leader's retreat, spitted three sweet potatoes on his wand, and ran back to the plaza, where he slipped them off on a mat. Thus he proceeded in turn at all seclusion huts, whereupon the elders ate the sweet potatoes and approved of them.

In the meantime old To'pó, regarded as "Čąre" (steppe fox), shouting "méo, méo!", ran from oven to oven to collect the tubers purposely left for him there, which he put into a basket hanging from his body.

Not until then did Čárčą go to the eastern leader's seclusion hut, where he shouted twice, whereupon the leader stepped up before him. Čárčą picked up one of the sweet potatoes from the ground, pared it, and allowed the leader to take three bites, advising him to eat very slowly because his throat was no longer used to food. Thus he proceeded, passing from house to house, with all the pepyé, whose mothers then rubbed the boys with a substance consisting of the flesh of the gourds baked jointly with the sweet potatoes.

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The catcher next ran to the house of the western pepyé girl, led her out, took her to the plaza, and then brought her back to her home; he followed the same procedure with the eastern girl. Then he brought into seclusion the deputy commandant and finally the two errand boys.

Not until the following morning, when the age classes had assumed their appropriate stations in the plaza, did the council designate the chief commandant, whom the catcher seized and, as with the others, led to a bedstead in his mother's home. To date the pepyé, exclusive of the catcher, numbered thirty-eight.

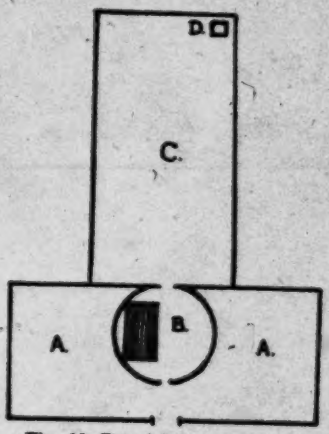

Fig. 13. Pepyé interament. A, living rooms; B, seclusion hut; C, yard; D, latrine.

Interment cells; life in seclusion.—The following morning the men in the plaza grouped themselves according to menkąčą, that is, by the dichotomy of the six plaza divisions (p. 87). Each group was to prepare the retreat for members who were pepyé.

As stated, all pepyé were interned in their maternal homes except for the eastern leader (p. 182). In each house a beehive-shaped hut (ikrére), about 3 m. in diameter and 2 m. high, was put up directly at the rear wall (fig. 13; pl. 34). This cell (fig. 13, *b*) had an anterior door barely 30 cm. in height and closed by a mat from within. The furniture was limited to a bedstead ½-m. high and one or two mats. Behind this cell and the rear wall of the house was a courtyard, kwęk, 5 by 10 m., fenced off to a considerable height with poles and anajá palm fronds. A tiny opening, barely sufficing for the interne to crawl through, connected yard and cell. In one of the outermost nooks of the yard was the latrine (ikwjrčą)—a pit ¾-m. in depth, covered except for a slit with billets of wood, a mat laid across the slit completing the closure.

As soon as the preparations were completed every pepyé exchanged his resting place on the bedstead of his mother's house for the cell, which was occupied singly or by more individuals, according to the number of pepyé in each house. In Hąktokót's wife's house four persons were interned, including one of the girls.

Henceforth the pepyé remained invisible to their fellow villagers, staying in their cells from April 22 until June 14. They were as inactive as possible. Twice every day, at least, their kinswomen slipped ample food through the miniature front door of the cell. For the time being they were not allowed to bathe or to kindle a fire, though the nights happened to be rather cold then; they were to make shift with a minimum of sleep, were to be neither seen nor heard by anyone; their hair was not cut, and their bodies remained unpainted. They were forbidden to scratch themselves with their fingernails, substituting neatly carved rods (amnyikarẽ'nčą) of miniature sword-club shape, which they usually carried behind their ears (pl. 35, *b*).

Only fellow novices—and even then only clandestinely at night—may enter a pepyé's cell. There is only one exception: since all intercourse with the outside world is effected through the errand boys, these have free access at all hours both to the cells and to the sitting rooms of the house. This statement at least defines the ideal conduct, to which many pepyé rigidly conformed, though others were guilty of frequent transgressions.

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Properly the commandant-in-chief ought to punish incontinence, but such disciplinary action was rare and, in general, Kopkré's choice for this important office proved rather unfortunate. Contrary to ancient custom, a fair number of pepyé were already married, and these often sneaked off to their wives instead of spending the night in their cells. Anciently, transgressors with wanton women would have been forced to eat large doses of pepper; and the Apą'nyekra seated the guilty couple publicly in the plaza, which was reckoned a disgrace. In 1933 the commandant could not strictly enforce the rule because he himself was an offender; one night I myself caught not indeed his wife, but a wanton slipping into his cell. The deputy was far more scrupulous; during the entire period of segregation he slunk off only on two or three nights to caress an infant daughter in his young wife's house.

At intervals of several days the pepyé secretly met at night in the courtyard of the deputy or, at times, of the commandant—usually because of some gross breach of the rules. The penalty, if inflicted, consisted of flogging by the errand boys acting under the deputy's orders after a secret agreement between him and the commandant. The errand boys accordingly always appear in public with their rods, which are about 1.30 m. long, very thin, and flexible. At the meetings both the commandant and his deputy uttered lengthy admonitions and tirades mainly bearing on the rules of seclusion and marriage. Maintenance of the former insures a successful internment, that is, one by which the pepyé rapidly acquire, in native belief, the strength of men, being enabled to pit themselves in sport against the next older class—a matter of honor. The marriage regulations loom large, because formerly most of the pepyé married soon after the festival and moved into the houses of their mothers-in-law. In matrimony, too, the Indians' supreme rule is to avoid quarrels, let alone brawls, which were expressly branded as setting a bad example for the children, who are to be educated in the traditional mores. A spouse's industry is represented as prerequisite to a happy union, but the harangues also refer to the faults of some girls, such as frivolity, laziness, and mendacity. Further, the lectures extend to the proper behavior toward kin, especially toward the wife's relatives, to the formalized friendship bonds, and to the prerogatives of elders, who are always to be treated with reverence. Thievery and lying are denounced.

Actual conduct, it must be admitted, more or less deviates from the ideals preached, nevertheless the reality of the standards is certain; and to judge from the spontaneous remarks made to me by various pepyé, at least under the influence of the ceremonial setting, many of the youths took them very seriously.

The commandant is responsible to the council for the demeanor and prosperity of his pepyé, being blamed if the young men fall short of the standards, physical and moral, at the close of their initiation.

Between 3 A.M. and 10 P.M. the cateher makes about five daily circuits through all the houses of internment. He carries a thick, heavy cane, 1.65 m. in length, not club-fashion under his arm, but so as to lean on it in walking. In the daytime he takes his stand before the cell, at night before the door of the house of retreat, facing the plaza, and remains silent for one or two minutes, both hands laid on the upper end of his cane. Then, rocking his body to and fro, he loudly utters his "hinkõ" cry, "hõ! hõ–õ!" At the last "õ!" he stamps with his right foot, waits immobile for another minute, and then passes on to the next house.

Besides the scratchers (pl. 35, *b*), shared with all other persons who for some reason have to go into a ceremonial retreat, the pepyé have two objects peculiar to their seclusion and made only during this period.

Their club (koppo) is a narrow board, 4–6 cm. wide and 60–112 cm. long, with the

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lower end pointed on the sword-club pattern; the upper end, which is sometimes decorated with openwork over a span in length and often very prettily, terminates in comblike tines 4–6 cm. long (pl. 36). A soft sound is produced by moistening the skin on the inside of the upper arm with the tongue and stroking it back and forth with the tines. This sound is the signal by which the pepyé identify themselves on mutual visits at night.

A second object often found in the hands of pepyé, but otherwise only rarely (as a children's toy), is the bull-roarer (pĩkwęk) (pl. 35, *e*). After nightfall and before daybreak the class leader should swing the instrument, the alarm being passed on from cell to cell to make sure that its inmate has not fallen asleep, in which case the commandant would punish him. This was the subsequent statement of the commandant who had functioned in 1933, but during that festival the signal was certainly not given with regularity, but at best now and then. As a participant I only occasionally heard the booming sound for a few moments and did not learn its meaning until later. Once I overheard the following dialogue between two pepyé, which the commandant's explanation elucidates: "Did you hear my bull-roarer this noon?" "Yes!" "I thought you were asleep."

That the bull-roarer was part of the insignia peculiar to pepyé is indicated by the term pepyetokárčą in the speech of the Čą'kamekra, nowadays extinct as a separate tribe, whose specimens were considerably larger and of more careful make than their present Rąmkõ'kamekra equivalents. It seems clear that the comparative insignificance of the bull-roarer at initiation does not represent its original role.

A pepyé in retreat carefully extends the lobes of his ears to fit them for the earplugs (kúi) (see pl. 4, *a–c*). From time to time the youths widen this part of the ear, which is developed into a loop of skin, by inserting both their forefingers and then twisting the loop; at intervals of a few days the plugs are superseded by new and somewhat bigger ones.

The deputy daily notched a four-edged stick (amkrópupunčą, day counter) to keep tally of the days elapsed since the capture of the pepyé (pl. 35, *g*).

The pepyé passed the time with various diversions: one of them constructed a ventilator wheel, another carved a model of the type of motorboat plying on the Mearim, still others plaited little baskets, bags or mats of anajá grass, which they used in their subsequent parades and camps.

Sometimes when the village lacked meat, the pepyé furtively marched into the steppe to hunt. On one trip they stole a neighboring farmer's ox; the council by no means sanctioned this procedure, but had the errand boys bring the two chief malefactors to the plaza and gave them a terrific reprimand, so that they stood there quite abashed, notwithstanding the supercilious bearing at first assumed by one of the culprits. At night, before all their fellow novices, the two commandants once more subjected them to prolix harangues and reprimands.

Thus the weeks passed. In the meantime the wakõ'kama, being the youngest of the eastern classes and hence the novices' opponents, gathered daily in the western vụ'tę"s house and arranged many log races with the next older põhį'kama class camped on the west side. These latter, using the eastern vụ'tę' house as their lodge, belong to the same team league as the pepyé of 1933, whose subsequent position would also be on the west side of the plaza, to the north of their predecessors on that side.

Inspection of new leaders.—About 4:30 P.M. on May 23, the põhį'kama and wakõ'kama classes (western and eastern, respectively) began to dance jointly in the plaza, while the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the eastern leader of the pepyé assembled

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before his house of seclusion. The hąpín faced the plaza in one line abreast, held their clubs horizontally in front of their bodies, and joined the ends of the clubs so as to form a single pole, which they raised and lowered while dancing. In the meantime the pinčwę'i indulged in their customary mischief before the house. The catcher, accompanied by his pinčwę'i, who from time to time splashed him with water from a gourd bottle, trotted along a radial path from the seclusion house to the dancers in the plaza, halted before them for a moment while rubbing together the palms of his hands, and returned to the house. Soon the two age classes slowly started toward the house. The catcher constantly trotted back and forth in the manner described between them and the house of internment until they reached its door. The hąpín allowed access to the two groups, which entered and, singing, took positions to the right and left of the door, facing the cell. Now the novice's maternal uncle stepped forth and three times uttered a very loud, piercing yell. Forthwith the eastern leader's face appeared at a tiny window, hitherto closed with a mat on the inside, and immediately disappeared again behind the mat; the window had been specially left for this purpose in the front wall of the cell. The age classes then returned to the plaza, but the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the novices' western class leader ran along the boulevard to his seclusion house, where the same ceremony was repeated. Then the two leaders' kinswomen put food outside the officers' houses of seclusion, and the leaders' hąpín and pinčwę'i distributed it among themselves.

Four days later, on May 27, at the same hour, the wakõ'kama class assembled in the plaza. They sat down in two lines facing the seclusion house of the eastern leader. The latter's uncle, who is also the commandant of the wakõ'kama, and a hornblower sat in the rear, the class leader, Yóro, and a precentor with a rattle (pl. 32, *b*, *c*) were seated in the front row, while the catcher went from house to house, uttering his hinkõ call, whereupon he led them to the eastern leader's seclusion house in the manner followed at the first inspection. However, this time they halted before the house; only the uncle entered and three times uttered the piercing yell. At once the grass of the front wall of the cell opened, rendering visible the leader's entire figure. The catcher approached, seized him by the hair, and pulled him out, whereupon two of his hąpín seized him by his right and left arm, respectively, and led him near the house door, whence he hurried back into his cell. After the wakõ'kama had returned to the plaza, the western leader was inspected with similar ceremony.

Procession with mats; ablutions.—Shortly before sunset the eastern leader left his seclusion house. On the path along the rear of the dwellings he walked west and south around the village, carrying only a flat club under his arm. Ahead of him walked Yóro (the wakõ'kama leader), holding the ceremonial pepyé lance (pl. 31, *c*, *d*) made by the eastern leader's maternal uncle; this emblem he moved to and fro in front of him as though removing obstacles from his path. As soon as the pair had walked past, the pepyé came out of all their retreats and followed behind. All of them had stuck their flat clubs as handles into anajá grass mats of more than a man's height; and they covered their left side with these huge shields so that they themselves remained quite invisible to the villagers, who could see only the itinerant mats headed by the two class leaders.

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After the completed circuit the parade entered the eastern leader's yard, while the wakõ'kama pounced upon a big meat pie offered to them there, each member trying to obtain a piece. In the meantime the novices remained immobile behind the mats, but after the departure of the wakõ'kama they removed their clubs from the mats, which were put on the ground, and sat down on them. The eastern leader

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pushed the ceremonial lance into the ground in their midst and in a speech admonished them to be orderly and obedient.

At nightfall the pepyé of the atụ'k moiety, using the path outside the house circle, dispersed to their several huts; but the pepyé of the kạ' moiety waited until daybreak, since night belongs to the atụ'k and the daytime to the kạ'.

Before sunrise all pepyé received through the fence of their yard enormous gourd bottles specially made and filled with water by their kinswomen on the previous evening. With this they washed themselves for the first time since their capture. Henceforth the ablutions, which are designed to promote rapid growth recur twice daily.

The monkeys' visit.—On June 21, at 5:30 P.M., the wakõ'kama and the unofficial class of the as yet uninitiated pạntụ'ktĩkama boys assembled in the plaza with half a dozen young wantons. They painted their bodies black, drew wide, black horizontal stripes above the eyes, and tied bast tails with spirally coiled ends to the back of their belts, thus simulating monkeys (kukóe). Suddenly they hurled themselves on all fours, and thus sped in a dense troop along the radial path to the eastern leader's house of retreat. Crying like monkeys, grimacing and gesticulating, they took the yard by storm, some climbing the lofty fence with truly simian agility, while others broke through it. In every yard food had been deposited in readiness for them, and they at once took it along. After wildly carrying on their antics in the first house, the whole mad four-legged company rushed to the next, and so on from the west northward round the entire circle. When this performance was over two "nocturnal monkeys" (*Aotus trivirgatus*, Humboldt) appeared in the dark and also received some food. The pepyé remained in their cells hidden from the monkeys throughout the whole of this act.

Inspection of pepyé.—On July 12 all the men whose sisters' sons were in the pepyé seclusion, assembled in the plaza, ranging themselves by plaza groups. When all were present, the six companies amid loud shouting, suddenly dashed off simultaneously, each to the retreat of some member's nephew. Invading the yard by way of the fence, they took up positions in front of the rear door of the cell. The novice's uncle stepped ahead of the others and uttered three loud and piercing yells, whereupon the boy called came crawling out of the tiny exit. No sooner had he appeared, however, than his uncle bawled at him anew, chasing him in again. In this fashion each plaza group treated all the affiliated pepyé, then they returned to their plaza stations and withdrew after a given signal.

Notwithstanding the lightning rapidity of this inspection, everyone was bound to be impressed with the physical transformation of the novices during their three months' internment. With only a few exceptions they had grown perceptibly stouter and their skin, unaffected by either sunshine or paint, often displayed amazingly light tints.

Suspension of internment.—Two days later, on July 14, long before daybreak, the catcher continually made his circuit, uttering his hinkõ' cry. The pepyé, on the other hand, painted themselves from head to foot with the yellow pigment from the urucú root. On this background they then added in red urucú paint, the lines identifying them as kạ' or atụ'k, respectively.

At 5:30 A.M. the scene of the catcher and the wakõ'kama performed on the afternoon of May 27 was repeated: the former, running back and forth, conducted the class to the retreat of the eastern leader, whom he pulled out by his hair. At once the novice's uncle approached, screaming at his nephew to keep still, that he himself had experienced the same treatment in his day and had gladly submitted to it. In

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the meantime the pepyé's sister several times stroked his hair with the rod comb exclusively designed for this ceremony, finally turning it over to one of the novice's near-by pinčwẹ'i, who hung it down her back by a neck cord. The catcher now led the pepyé to the door of the house, while his sister was allowed to choose whatever two men she pleased from the crowd of spectators, pulling them along by their hair and placing one on each side of her brother. The sisters are prone to select men with whom they are enjoying or wish to enjoy intimate relations. The two men catch hold of the novice under his arms and conduct him toward the right around the boulevard, his pinčwẹ'i women taking precedence and, as always in these circumstances, indulging in drollery, while the entire populace accompanies the parade. As the procession moves along the boulevard, three or four anajá palm fronds are hurriedly planted in the ground in front of the house of seclusion and a mat is laid in front, while the pepyé's mother scatters fruits and other victuals in the space before the house. Meanwhile the parade had reached the house façade diametrically opposite to the house of seclusion. At this moment all participants raced transversely across the plaza back to the seclusion house, where each tried to snatch up all he could of the food scattered on the ground. The two men guiding the eastern leader now took him on their shoulders, each alternately carrying him to the mat under the palm fronds, where they set him down.

The same procedure was followed with all the pepyé except the commandant, who for the time being remained interned. However, only the two leaders and the two girl associates were carried to their retreats, the rest being led back afoot. But several pepyé tore themselves free and raced with the crowd unless recaptured on the way. Three or four times the men refrained from racing, leaving the scattered fruits for the women. This performance continued until all the pepyé were standing on the boulevard on the mat under the palm fronds in front of their several retreats.

Next four men successively made the circuit of the village. First came Koipõ'ro, the põhį'kama commandant, who danced before every retreat with outstretched arms and sang a song informing the novices' mothers and sisters that the internment was herewith ended. Second came old To'pó, who halted before each pepyé, rubbed his own left armpit with his right hand, then stroked the novice's face in the manner customary at the ketúaye (p. 177). Third, the snake doctor, Paté, examined the eyes of all novices to ascertain whether any of them was destined to die soon, which he supposedly discovers from the luster and expression of their eyes. Finally, Pąnhí, a young wakõ'kama, did not stop anywhere until he got to the eastern leader's retreat, where he loudly shouted across the plaza. Thereupon all the pepyé, who had until then been standing motionless on their mats, disappeared into their retreats.

In the evening the eastern leader, holding the pepyé lance, and walking along the ring around the back of the houses, assembled all the pepyé, who followed him, shielding themselves with their mats from the gaze of the villagers. Moving from house to house, they received food from their mothers and sisters, which they took to a spot one hundred meters beyond the houses in the steppe to the north. There, masked by chopped-off bundles of twigs held in front of them, To'pó and the other prókama elders were lying in ambush. The eastern leader of the pepyé thrust his lance into the ground, while his followers formed a circle and laid the food on the ground as though wishing to eat here. But To'pó screamed at them that this was no time for eating, that they had better go to sleep at once. Immediately the pepyé abandoned the lance and the food to depart for a spot cleared of grass and shrubbery southwest of the village, about two hundred meters from the boulevard; there they rested during the night on their mats—the first night spent outside of their cells.

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On the same day I was presented with the pepyé lance; my "sister" Kra'napą'n carried it to the plaza and before the assembled people dubbed it "Patkró."

Singing lessons.—With the beginning of daybreak (July 15) the pepyé left their nocturnal camp for a spot in the woods along the Ribeirão Santo Estevão bank, three hundred meters above the road leading westward out of the village. There they cleared an area of about twelve square meters and made themselves at home. Early in the morning the chiefs, the precentor Partói, and a number of women went thither, headed by old To'pó, who sang, carrying his staff. I was invited to join the party.

The pepyé were seated on the ground in a circle, waiting for us, the girl associates lying a little to one side. We sat down on the east side of the circle. The women were holding themselves aloof. Everyone made a serious face, and at most soft whispering was audible. Four pepyé with rods in their hands stood guard among those seated to forestall improper conduct; they bear the title mehamárkate or ko'túmre.

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To'pó stepped inside the circle. Facing east, leaning his hands on his staff and rocking his body back and forth, he intoned the iyeõ' chant, which is sung exclusively at pepyé:

iyeõ' iyeõ'! marére rererẽt hikoikwákam
? ? ? hummingbird in my sky
iyeõ' iyeõ'! marére ritere ame xikratúm
? ? ? my grandfather

Then he gave his staff to the deputy, who repeated the song in the same posture. Thus all the pepyé, successively stepping within the circle, sang the iyeõ' chant, the errand boys and the girl associates last of all. Chief Hąktokót, the supreme authority on initiations, sat beside me, criticizing the rendition. A man named Tepyét was undoubtedly the best singer.

Now the precentor stepped into the circle and intoned another song, which the two leaders repeated first, followed successively by all the other pepyé.

Next the two girls were taught the avaitipó series of three songs, which is also peculiar to this phase of initiation. Their two colleagues, the women once associated in the same way with the next older (wakõ'kama) class, who had come along for this very purpose, stepped beside them, while the deputy with a dance rattle joined the precentor, forming a sextet.

1. kačẽ're hipoktokwẹ' (heard in the song as : kače-a-ri ĩipokokwehe).
The star causes a conflagration.

This refers to Halley's comet in 1910, for the Indians were afraid that its tail would set the world afire. The men danced ahead with their rattles, behind them the girls abreast of one another. Raising and lowering the spread-out and slightly curved index and middle fingers of both their hands to about the height of the chest, they danced up and down for a while.

2. ipéyre kenkana nõ.
The duck on the stone lies.

At this song the men faced the girls; all danced simultaneously toward the center and again backward so as to separate, at the same time swinging their arms to and fro in front of their bodies and jerking their feet forward.

3. avar tik pó tepre
anajá palm belly wide and flat small fish
avar tik pó vetre
anajá belly wide and flat lizard

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This is the avaitipó chant proper, for in the singing the two initial words are pronounced avaitipó. The arrangement and step of the dancers were those of the second chant, but the performers did not swing their arms and legs. This closed the singing lesson.

Races; cementing of formal friendship; chants.—After the departure of all visitors, the pepyé arranged a race with the miniature pąrare logs, 25 cm. long, which the catcher had secretly made for them and given to the eastern leader (pl. 35, *d*). Since no other age class was available as a rival team and the season precluded a division into kạ′ and atụ′k, the novices split up according to eastern and western plaza moieties. For the time being the pepyé are able to run only with the pąrare—and even with these only in secret, for the wakõ′kama would not permit the manufacture of true full-sized race logs, and would confiscate even the pąrare if they should discover them.

In the afternoon, shortly before sunset, the pepyé marched back from their camp by the brook to the village, where they collected food in their mothers' houses. Henceforth this occurred daily at this hour.

On the same day the cells and fences of all pepyé retreats were dismantled.

Very early on the morning of July 17, Chief Kukrãčạ′, old Koyapạ′, the catcher, and an Indian named Korã′ went to the pepyé camp. They halted in the steppe on a path parallel to the edge of the wood and leading upstream, while the catcher went to call the pepyé camped near by. These appeared, passed by without a word, and vanished except for the two girls, who stayed behind. I do not know how far they walked. In the meantime Korã′ made two brooms of pau de leite twigs, which he handed to the girls, who expectantly took their stand across the path. Not long after this the blast of horns resounded, and the pepyé, their bodies and especially their faces blackened with charcoal, came rushing up, headed by the champion singer, Tepyét. At once the newcomers, propping their hands on their knees, took places before the girls, who dealt their backs several lashes with the broom, allegedly to purge them of flabbiness. The deputy, who had long ago reached the goal, ran back to fetch the last one of the racers. Running behind him, he constantly lashed his legs and back with the pau de leite twigs, and the vexed expression of his face clearly indicated his sense of responsibility for the disgrace of having such a weakling in his class.

His annoyance found vent in a long and vehement tirade delivered at his age mates, ranged about him in a semicircle. He ascribed the poor result of the race to their failure, despite all his admonitions, to obey the rules of seclusion, and bitterly complained of their disobedience. At last he himself joined the semicircle, and old Koyapạ′ now held forth in a second harangue, alleging among other things that only Tepyét had rigidly adhered to the regulations, which was why he had beaten all the other runners. This, however, was a very inadequate statement of the facts, for Tepyét had been one of the cattle lifters and not long before had been threatened with the pepper penalty for spending every night with his pretty young fiançée Yarpót rather than in his cell.

Somewhat abashed, the pepyé marched to their camp in the woods by the stream, where they crowded about a water hole in order to cement the two types of formal friendship (p. 100 ff.). All pepyé formed several alliances of these types among themselves. For my own hąpín I acquired the two class leaders, the errand boys, the unavoidable Tepyét, and two others; the deputy and three others became my kwụ'nó; and of the two girls, Horarák became my pinčwẹ′i and Koté my kwụ'nõ′.

After the establishment of formal friendships, a many-branched tree was chosen

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in the pepyé camp, an old race log was set up under it, and about one meter above it a crossbeam was tied to the trunk for a rung, making it easy to climb to the top. Then, one at a time, the pepyé all climbed up about ten meters among the branches, where each singly sang the iyeõ′ chant "like the falcon which sits in a tree and utters its call." Then the two girls with two companions as precentors sang the avaitipó series in the camp.

In the evening, after collecting food from their mothers' homes, the pepyé took it to the resting place southwest of the village, where they had spent their first night after seclusion was suspended. Toward 8 P.M., after the dance in the plaza, when all was quiet, they stood up in a circle there, the two girls in the center and the precentor Partói in front of them. Rhythmically rocking their bodies from right to left, they thus sang with brief intermissions till daybreak (July 18). A number of kinswomen were sitting or lying by fireplaces outside the singers' circle. At the close of each song two or three of the older pepyé would always bawl into the darkness these words: "There thou liest on the ground, race log, nevertheless I shall carry thee to the village!" The younger ones would shout, "Now thou art still feeding, pereá, but soon thou wilt be in my power!" At daybreak they return to the camp by the wooded bank.

Hunt and race; pó payments.—A little later the old prókama went to a site near the creek about one kilometer above the village. Many women and girls assembled there by an oven in which they were baking sweet potatoes and cará. In the meantime the pepyé were on a hunting trip with two bows specially made by their leaders' maternal uncles. They killed a pereá and a small bird, put their kill into the little baskets presented to the girl associates by their maternal uncles, and with the blowing of horns marched in single file toward the site of the oven. They surrounded the baked fruit lying about on the ground, but the prókama again yelled at them from their ambush of branches, whereupon the two girls at once deposited the baskets, and the leaders their bows and arrows; then all marched upstream and disappeared. The two girls remained behind and, armed with pau de leite branches, again took up positions transversely across the road. Before them were two huge new gourd bowls (kratti) decorated with pendants of beads; the water inside the containers had been perfumed with pulverized leaves of the negra mina tree. In addition there was a gourd bowl filled with an infusion of the scraped wood of the sucupira tree, which has a horribly bitter taste. This tree is reckoned by the Timbira as the quintessence of strength and toughness.

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The pepyé came running back decorated with black paint, Tepyét in his atų′k decorative paint again outdistancing the rest. The girls administered the usual blows on the back and were about to pour perfumed water from the hollows of their palms on the runners' heads, but Tepyét curtly emptied the bowls. However, he and all the pepyé drank of the sucupira infusion.

Then they returned to their camp, where they slept part of the afternoon. The rest of the day was spent in making earplugs and the like in order to pass the time. They also made me tell tales of other tribes, for my new hąpín and kwų'nõ′ had laid claim to me and would not let me go until it was time for us jointly to visit the village for a food collection.

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Toward evening specially prepared hampers (kái) were set up in front of all the late houses of seclusion. They were more than filled with vegetable produce reaching up to a man's height. To make this possible, they extended the walls of the basket upward by inserting and interlacing palm rachises, formed into a pointed funnel open at the top and kept in shape by burity bast rings. To keep the baskets from

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tipping over, they tied them to rectangular frames of poles planted in the ground. The cultivated fruits, overflowing the edge of the hampers, constituted the pó, that is, the initiates' kinswomen's payment to the plaza groups that had erected and equipped the cells. In front of every house there were as many hampers as there had been pepyé in seclusion there.

Suspension of commandant's seclusion.—From July 14 to 18 the commandant was the only pepyé still in retreat. On the 18th the pepyé, after collecting food from their mothers' homes, marched about one hundred and fifty meters outside the village along the road going west. On the left of the route they built a fire, by which the two girls and the leaders lay down, while the rest—including the deputy—sat down in a circle in the middle of the street. In the center of the circle a burity stick, 1½ m. long, was stuck into the ground. Three ko'tũmre with rods were standing among the sitters. One after another stepped into the center, laid his hands on the top of the stick, and softly uttered approximately these words: "Be careful! Our commandant is surely already making preparations. Obey his commands lest he beat us!" This was kept up, in turn, from nightfall until late at night.

At intervals of a few minutes one of the errand boys ran to the commandant's hut of seclusion to ask whether he was not coming soon. He answered brusquely that he wanted to be let alone and would come later. The boy trotted back with the message to the assembled pepyé, who at once sent his colleague on the same mission and with the same result. This continued till 11 P.M. At that hour the commandant quite abruptly and furtively rose, taking his rod, and sneaked unseen through the rear exit to the circle of pepyé sitting in the dark. Suddenly he jumped at them, crying, "You called me, and now you are all asleep!" The pepyé dispersed, and the commandant lashed the ground behind them with his whip, pulled the burity stick out of the ground, and hurled it aside. Then his deputy took him by the hand and led him some distance back on the road he had come.

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While the deputy was returning to the pepyé, his superior walked back alone along the boulevard to his retreat, before which his kinswomen, hąpín, and pinčwę'i were waiting to decorate him. They tied two cloths folded together into bands round the middle of his body and made another into a forehead band. On his back he was made to wear a beaded cord with a little mirror. He wore a thick girdle of white cotton cords and two sashes of like material crossing each other on the chest. To each sash was fastened a cord 30 m. long, stretched and held on either side by ten persons of both sexes. Directly by the commandant stood one hąpín at each side, holding the cord with one hand and supporting the commandant's outstretched arm with the other. Ahead of the commandant and at his side walked his sister's daughter, Kentapí, holding a gourd bottle filled with water and a cloth for wiping off the perspiration. The entire group was facing the seclusion house and moved, laterally without change of front, in a westerly direction round the boulevard from the commandant's retreat, which lay at the north end of the settlement.

The commandant extended his arms, spread his legs apart, turned his head left, and began rocking his body back and forth as though about to give it a leftward swing. At last he drew his right leg beside his left, then separated the left leg again, and thus, accompanied by all his followers, he moved slowly sideways from the retreat (a) toward the neighboring house (b). At first he sang the catcher's "hõ! hõ-õ!", then another song. From (b) he first returned to (a), then passed on to (c), returned to (b), advanced to (d), etc., thus boxing the compass of the circle. During this tour huge fires were kindled with the plentiful fuel yielded by the palm grass of the dismantled cells.

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The commandant, who had developed appreciable adipose tissue in seclusion, was perspiring pitiably; from time to time his niece handed him the water bottle, wiped off his perspiration, and massaged his legs whenever he seemed worn out. He was obviously entirely exhausted when at 3 A.M. (July 19) he finally completed the circuit at his retreat, where his pinčwę'i divested him of his ornaments, now her property, with which she refused to part despite all my inducements. The commandant entered the house to sleep—no longer in his cell, which was soon after removed, but on a platform bed in his sister Yatkré's sitting room.

Races; painting of pepyé.—On the same morning the men assembled in the plaza before sunrise, ranging themselves by plaza groups. On the previous day the eastern leader of the pepyé had handed the two miniature race logs (pąrare) to the commandant of the põhį'kama class, which, like the pepyé, is of the western age-class moiety, hence of the same racing team. Though the commandant had secretly buried the logs in the plaza, a member of the kupẽ' plaza group mysteriously unearthed them, notwithstanding the wakõ'kama commandant's wife's sitting on the spot. At once hiding the pąrare in his armpit, he departed; and accompanied by all, including the pepyé, he went to a site one and a half kilometers away, beyond the Santo Estevão Creek. The pepyé, who had at first crowded round the bearer, now dispersed into relay groups along the route, so that only their two leaders, wearing their occipital fan of tail feathers (pąnyapį'; see pl. 35, *a*), accompanied the other classes to the starting point for the race. There each of the two took one pąrare, knelt down with it, and sang.

The race toward the village then started, the western classes—põhį'kama and pepyé—running on the right side of the track against the eastern classes—wakõ'kama and pąntųktíkama (uninitiated boys)—on the left. The latter won—thanks to Čąré, who once more proved the tribal champion. As always in pąrare races, the pepyé girls and their predecessors were stationed across the course and welcomed the runners with the customary flogging and pouring of water over their heads (pl. 30, *b*). Finally entered the pepyé leaders, carried astride the shoulders of two men and set down before the girls without flagellation or ablution.

At once the six plaza groups carried off the baskets of fruits allotted to each, bringing them from their former retreats to the plaza, where each group poured out the contents on their own stance, sorted, and distributed them. It is no easy task to distribute anything among nearly a dozen persons if the numerals in one's tongue do not extend beyond four. This accounts for the distributor, Koipõ'ro, scratching his head in despair and also for the number of raised forefingers on this occasion.

After the initiates' first haircut in three months, they were painted blue-black with genipa and red with urucú. The design differs according to one's plaza group. It consists of a band a hand's breadth in width with figures repeated on both sides of the body front, from the cheeks down to the middle of the thighs, with narrow ramifications over the front side of the arms.

The pepyé ranged themselves on the west side of the village, to the right and left of their eastern leader's retreat, in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups; they were holding burity sticks (pure) 4–5 m. long. The men, grouped on the same principle in the plaza, ran toward the pepyé, carried off those of their own affiliation, and took them to the appropriate group assembly house, where they were painted. The commandant again formed an exception, being painted not in his own group's (čẽpre) lodge, but in his sister's house, his place of internment.

While being thus decorated, a pepyé lies motionless on his back, resting on a mat,

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with any sort of support for his head and the hollows of his knees. For lines to be drawn, the genipa is laid on with cotton wads attached to the tips of little rods, whereas dots are put on with comblike wooden stamps (mehõ′kẽa) (pl. 35, *f*). Any older member of the plaza group, preferably the pepyé's hąpín, will undertake the job, at which one or two young women or girls always assist; for though the plaza groups have no regular women members, some of the members' young kinswomen are always in attendance.

The genipa decoration yields rather pretty effects, but being executed with great care it begins to pall, so that a fair number of pepyé fell asleep on their mats as I did myself, and had to be awakened when the work of art was done. Then the subject would make his body rigid, allowing a classmate to raise his head and to help him up lest the movements of his limbs blur the moist drawing. After the genipa juice had grown tolerably dry, the decoration was completed with red urucú.

In the meantime Pąnhí, who had given the signal for the novices' retreat into their cells on July 14, sang a song before each house in turn:

Yayumri rõ′rohõ kam nõ
† babassu leaf on it lies

When all plaza groups had completed the decoration of their pepyé, they simultaneously marched out of their meeting places holding urucú-stained "pure" poles, proceeded toward the plaza, where they formed a circle, with the two pepyé girls and a precentor facing each other in the center. The commandant was brought from his sister's house, but halted outside the circle with his deputy and the catcher. Thus they danced and sang two chants, then moved on to the čẽpre lodge, situated very nearly at the east point of the village and diametrically opposite the eastern leader's one-time retreat. While they continued chanting inside the house, two of their number went around the boulevard, assembling girls and young women by letting them touch the "pure" poles, by which they led them behind themselves. When all were together in the čẽpre lodge, they jointly departed singing and dancing around the boulevard to the east leader's one-time retreat, and thence to the plaza. The commandant and his deputy walked in step behind the dancers.

In the meantime the as yet uninitiated pąntų′ktĩkama boys had assembled in front of their vų′tẽ (the western one, since they with the wakõ′kama occupy the east side of the plaza). The pepyé now suddenly ran in a body toward these boys as though about to call them to a race, but just as abruptly faced about to return to the plaza. Then they similarly ran to their own vų′tẽ's house (the eastern one, for the pepyé are stationed beside the põ′hĩkama on the west side of the plaza). There they picked up a pair of old race logs as though about to race with them, but after a few steps they threw them away. At last they trotted back to the western vų′tẽ's home and by couples began to race the pąntų′ktĩkama from the space in front of the house to the plaza. Naturally the pepyé invariably won, but the comical seriousness and intense zeal of the little boys—some of them under six years of age—in trying to minimize the distance between them and their opponents aroused the councilors' mirth as well as their benevolent appreciation.

Immediately after this race the pepyé and wakõ′kama raced three times around the boulevard with two logs already previously used. At first the former seemed about to emerge as victors, but finally the older group triumphed by virtue of their greater endurance.

Pepyé camp; dances; log race.—Now the pepyé jointly went to the Santo Estevão woods, where they cut off large bunches of anajá fronds and dragged them to the plaza. There, round a fireplace, they arranged a site, which henceforth served

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as a camp at night; it lay in the northwest part of the plaza, their proper place a a newly initiated class—next to the põhį'kama and opposite the station of the pąntų'ktĩkama.

The sun was low when the pepyé girls with their predecessors of 1913 stepped out of the eastern leader's recent house of retreat. They were wearing white wristbands with thick cotton tassels and on their backs a little gourd bowl (kratre) with beaded pendant was hanging from a cord. Headed by an elderly precentor and a pepyé, both of whom were provided with dance rattles, they slowly moved toward the plaza, singing the Halley-comet chant, while a pepyé with a "pure" pole was constantly running between them and the plaza. This running back and forth is the ceremonial way of conducting people to a definite place for a public performance. On the plaza they took up their positions and sang the two other avaitipó chants. During these songs the new initiates' kin set down on the ground in their midst an iron cooking pot and diverse other gifts; the commandant added his bush-knife with its leather sheath. After the chanting the girls' decoration was removed and, with the other presents, distributed among their pinčwę'i.

The pepyé, holding their "pure" poles, split up according to plaza groups, each of the six companies successively marching to the maternal homes of all their pepyé members, to receive bowls of food, with which they returned to their plaza site. Then they leaned their poles against a specially fixed horizontal beam resting on two forked branches, collected together all the food obtained, and waited for the deputy to distribute it. After segregating a goodly portion for the senate, he had one of his party carry it to the elders, while the pepyé jointly ate in their camp, a scene henceforth of daily occurrence at this hour.

After nightfall women and girls danced in the plaza as usual, the pepyé never participating at that time, but only before sunrise.

This took place for the first time on the next morning (July 21); as early as 3 A.M. the pepyé and wakõ'kama were dancing in the plaza before the right and left wings, respectively, of the singing women and girls. The commandant and deputy of the pepyé stood behind their class and did not dance. The põhį'kama and the little boys' class likewise were mere spectators from their stations. Noting that one of their female age mates, Ačukwę'i, was absent from the dancers' line, all the pepyé, including the commandant and deputy, ran to the truant's home, awakened her and took her to the dance ground.

Before sunrise the wakõ'kama raced with logs against the põhį'kama. Then the pepyé went to their vų'tę"s house, to fashion their second decorative outfit, not of babassu strips this time, but plaited of burity bast and comprising two-pointed forehead bands, armlets, wristlets, and sashes. The wakõ'kama in the meantime assembled in the other vų'tę"s house. When their grass decoration was finished, the pepyé donned it and danced the mepikén dance around the boulevard. Abreast of one another in a long line, they clasped each other's shoulders, facing the houses. Loudly singing, they leaped in exact time, alternately toward the left forward and toward the left backward, so that the entire line slowly moved leftward round the boulevard. The movements were executed with such marvelous precision and uniformity as to produce a harmonious, unified effect for the long line of thirty-seven dancers. The commandant walked slowly behind them.

Then the wakõ'kama, accompanied by many women and girls carrying gourd bottles with water to refresh the racers, marched to a site on the Santo Estevão, three kilometers to the northwest, where for several days past they had fashioned two enormous burity logs and soaked them in water to increase their weight. For

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this race was to prove to the pepyé that they were far from being as yet their elders' peers. But on examining the logs, the wakõ'kama found them too heavy even for themselves, so that a section of the length of a span was chopped off each stump.

Meanwhile the pepyé assembled in the plaza, where their kin decorated them with folded cloths tied round their girdles and foreheads, with beaded cords and sashes of green tucum cords with diverse pendants. But hardly had they put on this outfit and got moving in order to follow the wakõ'kama to the starting place for the race, when at the very exit of the village their pinčwę'i intercepted them in order to remove all these ornaments.

In the meantime the wakõ'kama had deposited the two logs on the road beside each other and danced behind them, singing with arms raised in the manner customary for a challenging team expecting their opponents. No sooner had these arrived than both teams picked up their logs without delay and dashed ahead. The pepyé made desperate efforts and—thanks to their western allies of the põhį'kama class—they succeeded in getting their log to the goal first. Though evidently exhausted by their excessive exertions, they refused to give any evidence of their condition and danced the mepikén dance before going for a bath.

Killing of a wild pig.—Toward sunset they reappeared in formation and danced around the boulevard in sections of from four to five members all abreast, stamping their feet and humming "like hummingbirds in flight." This announced to the owner of the tame taitetú pig destined for the pepyé banquet that her pet was to be killed on the following morning.

At daybreak of July 21 this was done in the usual manner. The pepyé and the other western classes (põhį'kama and prókama) marched with the slain animal to a hut in a farm on the Brejo da Cebola, which empties into the Santo Estevão from the left, one and a half kilometers from the village. For lack of a second taitetú, the eastern classes (wakõ'kama, kukrų'tkama, and kukóekama) killed a domestic pig, which was prepared for them in their vų'tę''s home. As always on such occasions, the kinswomen of the eastern age classes accompanied the western classes, and vice versa.

When the pepyé had crossed the Santo Estevão on their way, their commandant made them halt once more and form their line, whereupon he again admonished them and laid down the rules. Arrived at their destination, the pepyé got anajá leaves, which they spread out for bedding in the open rancho. However, none was allowed to fall asleep; anyone beginning to nod was roused by a gentle lash of the ko'túmre's rod. They spent the time storytelling and being painted with urucú by the girl associates. A little aside from them old To'pó (prókama) told the rest tales of ancient days, while the women and girls fixed the earth oven, dissected the taitetú, and made meat pies, of which the pepyé, however, received nothing.

In the afternoon, during the distribution of the pies, blasts on horns heralded the arrival of the wakõ'kama. On this signal the pepyé and a group of eleven girls at once went some distance to the spot where one pair of logs was lying ready for the men and another for the girls. While the pepyé and the girls of their team were dancing behind the logs with raised arms, the wakõ'kama—also accompanied by eleven girls—arrived, and the race started at once. First the two groups of girls took up their logs, the men following some distance behind, but, as always, reaching the goal first. Both the pepyé and their girls' team were beaten. The former had clearly not yet recovered from the tremendous exertions connected with the previous day's victory. Even before the race many complained of pains in their shoulders and legs. Nevertheless, they danced in the plaza after the race.

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Toward evening the two pigs were paid for in the usual fashion. The western age classes, with the pepyé, marched clockwise, the eastern classes contraclockwise, around the boulevard, receiving gifts from each one's maternal home as they passed by, these forming a contribution toward the indemnity. After completing the collection, they moved before the house of the owner of the pigs, depositing everything in one heap. Thereupon the pepyé and their racing allies, panting "like exhausted deer" and now and then stamping their feet, danced toward their plaza site, while the wakõ'kama indulged in all sorts of buffoonery outside their vụ'tẹ''s house. They played at "travelers' return": two lads, carrying baskets full of offal and rubbish, came pretending to bring back gifts from the government on returning from a begging trip to the capital. Formally received by the others, they unpacked their treasures, such as an old rag, a rusty tin can, etc., and amid general merriment distributed them among those present.

Further races; naming of classes; discharge of girls and errand boys.—On the morning of July 22 the pepyé first of all danced in the plaza; later they ran another log race against the wakõ'kama, but were once more defeated.

After dark they again danced in front of the house of their vụ'tẹ́. I came up, holding the ceremonial lance given me by the prókama, and they complained bitterly of the small number of girls who had come to their performance, notwithstanding the recruiting by two members sent round about the village to summon them. They begged me to fetch the truants with my ceremonial lance, which I did.

The next day (July 23) the pepyé and wakõ'kama ran log races both in the morning and afternoon. In the interval and in the evening the pepyé danced before their vụ'tẹ''s house.

On the morning of July 24 the pepyé and wakõ'kama ran a relay race around the boulevard, then the former retired to the steppe, where for the first time since the opening of the festival they painted themselves with rubber latex and powdered charcoal. They also manufactured their third ornamental grass outfit, of which the typical part is a forehead cord with a long grass tail in the back of the head.

On their return from the steppe to the plaza, the pepyé as a now fully trained age class received from the council a new class name, viz., põhịtíkama (põhịti, big maize). At the same time there were changes of other class names: the pạntụ'ktíkama (boys) were designated as kra'tã'kama (kra'tã, *Piaya* sp.); the wakõ'kama henceforth were called kapranpotíkama (kapranpoti, small water turtle); and the põhịtíkama changed their name to rópkama (rop, jaguar).

On the same afternoon the pepyé girls and the errand boys were discharged. The former took up positions on the boulevard about seventy meters in front of the novices (now põhịtíkama), who danced toward them in leaps and surrounded them. Then the girls advanced some distance, waiting to be reached by the dancers, and so they continued around the boulevard until they got to the western vụ'te''s house, whereupon the novices went to the plaza and danced with a precentor before the two girls. After this performance the girls went separately to their homes, as did the errand boys. The pepyé continued to dance around the boulevard to the piercing sounds of their ocarinas.

Thereafter the girls, officially discharged, no longer took part in the daily activities of their class, though reckoned as affiliates as long as they lived. They rank as hạmrén. During the following days the newly dubbed põhịtíkama and kapranpotíkama occupied themselves exclusively with dancing in the plaza and before their vụ'tẹ́ girls' homes.

Hõkrowatiyõ'.—On July 27 considerable firewood was amassed from all direc-

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tions. The old precentor Kᾳ'e meanwhile was carrying about fifteen balls from the juicy and somewhat elastic fibrous wood of the burity. These hõkrowatiyõ' balls when fresh are rather heavy because of their water content and are in appearance indistinguishable from peeled oranges. In my collection they dried and shriveled up so as to lose their shape.

After nightfall a fire was kindled on the northeast side of the plaza, where the unofficial boys' class had been camping, and there old Kᾳ'e with a choir of the three junior age classes sang until after 11 P.M.

At 3 A.M. (July 28) the same group assembled on this spot, except that Kᾳ'e, feeling himself unequal to the prospective exertions, was superseded by the younger precentor Pĩtõ', who wore a rattle cincture tied below the left knee. Besides the fire around which the dance went on, there were five others of smaller extent at different spots along the margin of the plaza, which was thus brightly illuminated. Many spectators had sat down around these lesser fireplaces. On a mat, somewhat aside from the main fire, were the wooden balls. First the dancers ran yelling around the boulevard to gather together all their fellows, but with only partial success. Of the kapranpotĩkama in particular the majority played truant.

The dancers formed a circle around the fire, singing with outstretched arms and stamping their feet at the close of every stanza. Soon the precentor, Pĩtõ', went to the fire and lay down as though to sleep. But the dancers began to shout and one or at times two of them seized him by the feet and dragged him around the fire on his back. Pĩtõ' offered no resistance, but as soon as released he stood up, calmly picked up five or six balls from the mat and threw them at his tormentors, who did their best to leap and turn aside so as to evade the missiles. As soon as a ball had reached its target, the man hit retired while the rest cried aloud, "vrrr!" Two boys collected the balls and replaced them on the mat. Pĩtõ' stepped into the circle, and the whole scene was repeated anew. Some did not drag the precentor along the ground, but merely lifted him and set him on his feet.

Pĩtõ''s marksmanship was uncanny: only three times during the two hours' game did a dancer succeed in evading all the five or six balls; mostly the very first or the second struck their man. Several times the dancers tried to lure their non-participating classmates, who were sitting some distance away by the fires, to join the game; if anyone refused, his back was pelted with a ball. This game continued till daybreak.

Kukᾳ'kaikᾳ'ra.—After sunrise the novices (põhĩtĩkama) went to the woods by the creek, where each one cut himself a straight and slender pole of pindahyba wood (kukᾳ'), 4 to 5 m. in length. They brought the poles into the meeting houses of the six plaza groups, decorating them first by cutting out the bark in the shape of sundry stripes, rectangles, and triangles, and subsequently by charring. Since the fire attacked only the barked areas, complete decortication yielded black ornaments on a white background. The latter was then painted red with urucú. A pole thus ornamented is called kukᾳ'kaikᾳ'ra.

At 3 P.M. the pepyé (põhĩtĩkama) of the ketre plaza group came out of their lodge in the west, holding the kukᾳ'kaikᾳ'ra, and moved clockwise round the boulevard, joined by classmates of the other plaza groups as the parade came past the appropriate lodges. Several members of other age classes likewise joined.

In the meantime two põhĩtĩkama were decorated in the appropriate lodges with falcon down—one from the eastern čẽpre, the other from the western ketre group. The two pepyé girls, who are regarded as affiliated with these groups, were similarly ornamented and put on their new belts.

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In front of the aučét plaza group lodge the pepyé (põhjtíkama) appeared on the boulevard in two parallel rows beside each other. The right-hand line consisted of western, the left-hand of eastern plaza group members. Ahead walked the commandant with his kuką'kaiką'ra, followed a little to one side by chief Hąktokót, director of the whole initiation proceedings, who was holding a staff in his hand. There followed two precentors with rattle cinctures below the knee; as well as the leader and another member of the kapranpotíkama, who were carrying a reddened pole about 3 m. in length, holding it by its ends in a horizontal position. Between these two men three persons were holding the same pole: the aged precentress Kapekwę'i wearing the badge of her hokrepúi office, namely, the dance sash (hahĩ') made out of a wide cotton band with thick tassels; a young girl also with a dance sash; and the precentress Kupakrõ', famous for her zeal as a dancer and her exceptionally powerful voice. Behind these five pole bearers came the two lines of pepyé, and by the side of each youth, forming two further outer parallel lines, walked his actual or prospective mother-in-law, holding one end of a burity cord, the other end being fastened around her son-in-law's neck. (See fig. 14, pl. 40, *a*.) Thus the group advanced slowly clockwise round the boulevard, singing and occasionally retreating a little. When the procession had returned to its starting point, the women departed, but the pepyé took their kuką'kaiką'ra and once more headed by the two precentors, ran along the same route.

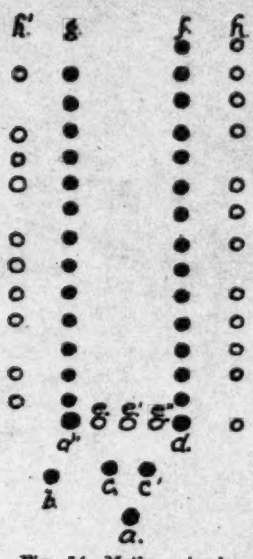

Fig. 14. Mothers-in-law leading sons-in-law. *a*, commandant; *b*, chief Hąktokót; *c*, *c'*, precentors; *d*, class leader of kapranpotíkama; *d'*, another member of the class; *e*, *e'*, *e''*, precentresses; *f*, pepyé of eastern plaza groups; *g*, pepyé of western plaza groups; *h*, *h'*, future mothers-in-law.

Then they marched to the plaza, ranging themselves in two divisions—the eastern and western plaza groups taking their proper places. The kuką'kaiką'ra were united in two bundles, that of the eastern group being set up on the *west* side, and vice versa, and each bundle held upright by one man. After Hąktokót, standing in the middle of the plaza, had uttered a cry, the two pepyé girls came running out of the ketre and čẽpre lodges, respectively, and toward the plaza, carrying in their hands an iron digging stick and a bunch of bast. Each deposited these objects by her party's pole-bundle, then several men hurriedly tied the poles together with the bast, while others used the iron tools to dig holes, into which they set the pole-bundles upright. The chief again called out, and immediately the two down-decorated pepyé simultaneously came dashing to the plaza from east and west, each trying to knock down the rival division's bundle before the other fell. The racer of the eastern plaza groups—of course, none other than Tepyét—got to the goal first, but stumbled over a hollow at the foot of the bundle and fell to the ground, so that his rival had a chance to get there in time to make the fall of both bundles precisely simultaneous.

A log race of the kapranpotíkama and pepyé concluded the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony, and therewith the entire pepyé festival as well as the cycle of initiation begun in 1926.

There followed, however, two intimately related ceremonies.

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Girls' belts.—On the morning when the pepyé põhĮtĩkama were making their kuką'kaiką'ra in their plaza group lodges, the tucum cord belts (me'pré) manufactured for the pepyé girls by their mothers were suspended in front of their houses from the top of a pole 6 m. in height. However, before the sun grew too hot, the girdles were removed lest the girls after putting them on develop swellings in the inguinal glands. The girdles, still displaying the green coloring of tucum bast, were first worn by their owners when falcon down was stuck on them in preparation for the erection of the kuką'kaiką'ra bundles on the plaza, that is, on the afternoon of the same day.

Soon after the race at the close of the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony a scene was enacted in the plaza, with Koté, the eastern pepyé girl, who was betrothed to her classmate Korégn, in the main part. Koté's maternal uncle had killed a deer and secretly brought it to his sister's home. At the hour mentioned a parallel cousin of Koté's mother, taking the quarry on his back and followed by Koté, carried it along the boulevard up to the house of Koté's paternal aunt, which was almost exactly opposite her fiancé's. Thence he followed the radial route to the plaza. Meanwhile all of Korégn's younger kinswomen had assembled before his maternal home and ran to meet the bearer of the deer as soon as he turned into the radial path. Many spectators were watching from their houses to see which of the girls would prove the swiftest. The racers seized the deer, dragged it to Korégn's maternal home and distributed it among themselves.

The next morning each of these runners brought some urucú pigment and babassu kernels to Korégn's mother's house. Koté, dressed in the girdle, which still showed the natural green coloring, joined them. The kinswomen rubbed a thick coating of urucú into the girdle, painted Koté herself with the pigment and then sent her home. Several days later the same procedure was followed with Hororák, the western pepyé girl.

Should a girl be neither betrothed nor married by the close of initiation—a thing that probably hardly ever occurs—the role of the husband's or fiancé's kinswomen in running toward the deer carrier would be taken by the younger age classes, and they would distribute the booty among themselves in the plaza, while the girl's mother would be dyeing the girdle red at her home.

Departure of oldest class.—The other ceremony relates to the elimination of the hitherto oldest class among the four active racing groups. This results from the now definitive localization of the boys' class (pąntų'ktĩkama, later kra'tą'kama) on the northeast side of the plaza.

The Mummers' Festival

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Introduction.—This is one of the three major festivals, one of which is chosen for performance during the years without initiations.

The Mummers (kõkrĮ't), one of the six men's societies (p. 95), comprise about thirty members, membership being transferred matrilineally together with the personal name. Their use of costumes is restricted to the period of the major festival bearing the name of the organization. This ceremony is celebrated comparatively rarely: about eleven years intervened between the last two masquerades (1924, 1935). Apart from this performance the members appear unmasked at the terminal solemnity of every vų'tę' period, but play an insignificant part then. For their leader they like to choose the tallest member so that his mask may tower above the rest. At present (1935) the incumbent is Yuá, the tallest of all Rąmkõ'kamekra. The meeting place of the organization is on the west side of the village.

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MEN WITH EARPLUGS

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PARARE RACE OF KETÚAYE

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FIRST COMMANDANT; DEPUTY COMMANDANT; WESTERN AND EASTERN CLASS LEADERS

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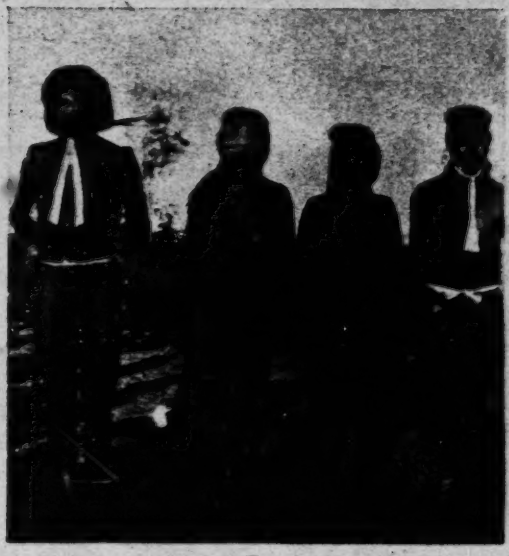

b

MOTHERS-IN-LAW LEADING SONS-IN-LAW; CLOWNS, MASKED AT PEPKAHÁ'K